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# HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON  
IN TEN VOLUMES  
THE SECOND VOLUME

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE  
REIGN OF KING WILLIAM III.  
AND QUEEN MARY II.  
FROM 1688 TO 1694.  
BY SAMUEL JOHNSON.  
LONDON: Printed by J. DODD, in Pall-mall, 1743.



THE  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND,

FROM  
THE PEACE IN  
1783.  
TO THE PRESENT TIME :

BY  
*T. A. LLOYD, Esq.*

Designed as a  
**Supplement.**

TO  
HUME, SMOLLET, AND  
CORMICK.

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*"Civem mehercule non puto esse, qui temporibus his ridere possit : ita  
sunt omnia debilitata jam prope et extincta."* CICERO.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND,  
FROM THE PEACE IN 1783,  
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

CHAP. I.

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I. **T**HE melancholy death of the French monarch, having now considerably alienated the affections of Englishmen from the French revolution, and the idea of internal danger having also at this time been excited by the alarming reports of plots and insurrections, a general abhorrence of the French and of French principles had seized the public mind, and prepared the nation to receive the declaration of war on the part of France with general satisfaction, as an event to be desired rather than dreaded. Having thus secured the concurrence of a great portion of the people, the minister lost no time in obtaining the sanction of parliament, to measures of extensive and vigorous hostility. Accordingly, on the eleventh of February, 1793, the following message from his majesty was read to the house of commons. "His majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of commons, that the assembly now exercising the powers of government in France, have without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and have since

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on the most groundless pretences, actually declared war against his majesty and the united provinces. Under the circumstances of this wanton and unprovoked aggression, his majesty has taken the necessary steps to maintain the honor of his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people; and his majesty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual support of the house of commons, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in prosecuting a just and necessary war, and in endeavouring, under the blessing of providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the farther progress of a system which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations, and is pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity and justice. In a cause of such general concern, his majesty has every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who are united with his majesty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an interest in preventing the extension of *anarchy* and *confusion*, and in contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe."

II. On the following day, the royal message was taken into consideration, when Mr. Pitt, in introducing the business, observed, "that in proposing to the house an address in answer to his majesty's message, he did not conceive that there could be any necessity, in the present instance, for troubling them much at large; war now was not only declared, but carried on at our very doors; a war which aimed at an object no less destructive than the total ruin of the freedom and independence of this country." He then adverted to those insults which the French supposed they had previously received from England, and which they state as grounds for their declaration of war; namely, "That the king of England has not ceased, especially since the revolution of the tenth of August, 1792, to give proofs of his being evil disposed towards the French nation, and of his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads. That the cabinet of St. James's has ceased since the same period



ried to correspond with the French ambassador at London, on pretext of the suspension of the heretofore king of the French. That since the opening of the national convention, the said cabinet has refused to resume the usual correspondence between the two states, and to acknowledge the power of the convention. That it has refused to acknowledge the ambassador of the French republic, although provided with letters of credit in its name. That the said court has caused to be stopped several boats and ships loaded with grain for France, contrary to the treaty of 1786, while exportations to other countries were free." Mr. Pitt, after examining every part of the French declaration, asserted, "that he found nothing but pretexts alledged as grounds for the declaration of war too weak to require refutation." When he came to conclude, he said, "We have, in every instance, observed the strictest neutrality with respect to the French; we have pushed to its utmost extent, the system of temperance and moderation; we have waited to the last moment for satisfactory explanation." He then moved the address, in which he was warmly supported by Mr. Powys, Mr. Secretary Dundas, and Mr. Burke.

III. Mr. Fox very forcibly censured the conduct of ministers, in "launching this country into a war, before any means had been used to prevent it. While the minister boldly asserted that a system of temperance and moderation had been used, it was well known that he had rejected every conciliatory mode offered by the enemy. Every step," he said, "taken by administration seemed to imply a desire to break with France. To have suffered earl Gower to remain at Paris after the tenth of August, would have implied no recognition of the government that succeeded that to which he had his formal mission, any more than to have negotiated with that government in the most direct and secure way, in preference to the most indirect and hazardous," Mr. Fox said, "he feared that this war would be supposed a war for restoring monarchy in France, and for support-

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ing rather the cause of kings than the cause of the people. He would be the last to draw a distinction of interest between the rich and the poor; for, whatever the superficial observer might think, nothing was clearer, when philosophically considered, than that a man who was not immediately possessed of property had as great an interest in the general protection and security of property, as he who was; and therefore he reprobated all those calls upon the particular exertion of men of property, as tending to excite the idea of an invidious distinction, which did not exist in fact. When the attack on France was called the cause of kings, it was not very witty, but a sufficient reply, that opposing it might be called the cause of subjects." Mr. Fox contended, "that ordering Chauvelin to depart the kingdom, and stopping the exportation of corn to France, when exportation was allowed to other countries, were acts of hostility and provocation on our part; which did not allow us to say, as the proposed address said, that the war was an unprovoked aggression on the part of France." He concluded with moving an amendment to the address.

IV. Mr. Burke began with declaring, "that, in his opinion, his majesty's ministers had clearly and explicitly justified their own conduct. The right honorable gentleman, who moved the amendment to the address, in framing his motion, seemed to get into the situation which all those must do who wish apparently to reconcile what is essentially contradictory: it had indeed the appearance of a stratagem—he would vote an address, enabling the executive government to carry on war, although he did not approve the conduct of ministers. The honorable gentleman had on a former occasion, lamented the smallness of his party, and it now seemed as if that party endeavoured to make amends for the smallness of their numbers by the discordance of their voices. He imagined some of them would find it difficult to account for their conduct in opposing the measures of government on the present critical occasion. In their censures

censures on France, gentlemen had shown a great deal of dexterity; but it certainly had too much the appearance of stratagem. The right honorable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had complained of the misrepresentation of his expressions in that house—to him it appeared very extraordinary how a person of talents so clear, so powerful, and so peripicuous, could possibly be misunderstood,—how a person who took so much pains by repetition, and going over the same grounds again and again, to bring his superior powers to the low level of the vulgar eye, could possibly be subject to misrepresentation—how a gentleman, whose friends out of doors neglected no human art to display his talents to their utmost advantage, and to detail his speeches to the public in such a manner, that he, though a close observer of the right honorable gentleman, had never been able to recollect a single idea of his that escaped the industrious attention of his friends to disclose to the public, while those of a right honorable friend of his (Mr. Windham,) whose abilities were equal to his virtues, were so mangled and so confused in the reports that were made of them, as to be utterly unintelligible to the public. But that the right honorable gentleman should be misrepresented or misunderstood, under such favorable circumstances, was hard indeed. The right honorable gentleman had said, that he hoped he was not reputed an advocate for France. To this he would say, that if the cause of France was an honest cause, it was justice to this country and to mankind to undertake her defence. The true skill of an advocate was, to put forward the strong part of his client's case, and gloss over or hide the weak; to exhibit all its right in the brightest point of view, and palliate the wrong; when he could no longer palliate, to contrive that the punishment should be as slight as possible, or to bring his writ of error, and by every quirk evade it as well as he could; and no man possessed that power in a greater degree than the right honorable gentleman. To his speeches he always attended with admiration and respect; that which he had just heard

heard on the present occasion he could not help estimating at a less account, as he had read every part of it in Brissot's speeches in the national convention, one part only excepted, and that part was, 'that France had used every means to conciliate the regards and good-will of Great Britain.' The right honorable gentleman had taken great pains to acquit himself, and apologise for his vehement endeavours to exculpate France from the charge of aggression: he professed that he was almost at a loss to see what it was that made him so prompt to exculpation. If France meant nothing but what was good, and England nothing but what was bad, he certainly owed no apology for the part he took in her cause. But to take the right honorable gentleman's speech in a serious view, it insinuated that the charge of the French was, that the king of Great Britain had brought on, or determined on war against the sense of his ministers, against the sense of the parliament, and against the sense of the people, in order to augment his own power. If this was the case, ministers had betrayed their country by their acquiescence, and it was the duty of the house to address the king to remove them, and put into their place those whom they thought more fit for advice, more fit to do the duty of a minister, and more likely to possess the confidence of the nation, if such there were. The right honorable gentleman had contended, that when ministers brought the nation into war, they should declare how they intended, to prosecute it, to what degree they intended to carry it, and what the object of it was. For his part he had never heard or read of any such principle in theory, or of any such in practice. The first question he conceived to be, whether there was just cause or foundation for the war? the second, how it should be carried on to the greatest effect?—He said, that in no instance whatever had any power, at the commencement of a war, declared what period was intended to end it, what means to carry it on, or what the object of it was. It was contrary to the policy of this and every other country; it was never heard of. In this, and in every case of the kind, the common

common object of the alliance should be pursued to gain the grand end. War had been declared by the French; but they had not declared that they did not intend the ruin, the destruction, and total subversion of this country and every establishment in it. Was it pretended that they had done, in declaring war, that which gentlemen had prescribed as the duty of this country? no; they declared war with the professed intention to bring it in the most formidable shape, attended with insurrection and anarchy, into the bowels of this country, to strike at the head of the stadtholder, and to put no limits to their views in the war, while gentlemen would have Britain cramped and tied by a premature declaration of her object. As to the sentiments of the right honorable gentleman respecting the declaration of a specific object of the war, as well as the delicacy of interfering in the internal government of France, were they adopted by the house, this should be their language--'France! you have endeavoured to destroy the repose of every country of Europe, and particularly of England: you have reduced your own country to anarchy and ruin, and murdered your king; nevetheless, you may be assured, that however horrible your crimes, though to the murder of your king you should add that of his infant son, his unfortunate queen and sister, and the whole remains of his family, not one hair of your heads shall be hurt. You may war against us, threaten us with destruction, and bring ruin to our very doors, yet shall you not be injured.' Was ever," he exclaimed, "such a declaration made in such circumstances? Much pains had been taken by the right honorable gentleman to make light of the power of France, and to persuade the house that there was nothing to fear from it. He would answer this by shewing what the right honorable gentleman had said on a former occasion." Here he began to read part of a speech spoken by Mr. Fox on the commercial treaty—when the speaker called him to order; it being disorderly to read any extracts from former debates—Mr. Burke said he would beg leave to read from a pamphlet in his hand. (The house called read  
read!)



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read!)—He began once more to read—when the speaker again interrupted him, and requested that he would abstain from reading, as he knew it was against the orders of the house—Mr. Burke then said, he could not but lament that the rules of the house sometimes weakened the force of argument, but he considered order to be so far more necessary than argument, that he would willingly forego the latter to maintain the former. To return, therefore, to his argument, without the conclusive aid he should derive from the gentleman's own language, in the book in his hand, he contended that the whole body of policy of this country for ages was, that whatever country was the enemy of France, was naturally the ally of Great Britain. If that opinion was founded in true policy before the revolution, let us try," said he, "what reason there is to alter that opinion since. If the new republic have shewn no disposition to increase her dominions, if she has not annexed Savoy, Avignon, Liege, Nice, &c. to her territorial possessions, if she has not declared war against all subsisting governments, and confiscated the properties of a corporation, if she had not held out the mask of confraternity as a signal and temptation to rebellion in all countries, but particularly in England, then statesmen have a right to change their opinions and systems of policy with respect to her. Unlimited monarchy, the right honorable gentleman had said, was the object against which France directed the shafts of enmity. But he would be glad to know whether gentlemen would pretend to say that she was a friend to limited monarchy? No; she was an enemy to limited monarchy, as monarchy, and to the limitation, as limitation. The aristocracy of this country, all corporations, all bodies, whether civil or ecclesiastic, were the objects of her enmity. She shewed the most determinate malice, in the most express terms, against all parts of the British government, equally to those that limit or support monarchy; not to this or to that, but to the whole. If conquered by Louis the sixteenth, we might be sure of our established forms being unmolested; but if by her, of total extinction. Gen-  
tlemen

tlemen had, with much pertinacity, asked, 'Have you  
 asked satisfaction for this?' This, he contended, was  
 an error, either of misconception or of will. The acts  
 France were acts of hostility to this country; her whole  
 system, her speech, every decree, and every act, bespoke  
 an intention preclusive of accommodation. No man, he  
 would venture to say, had a more lively sense of the im-  
 portance of the question before the house, or of the evils  
 of war, than himself; a war with France under such cir-  
 cumstances as now governed her conduct, must be ter-  
 rible, but peace much more so. A nation that had aban-  
 doned all its valuable distinctions, arts, sciences, re-  
 gion, law, order, every thing but the sword, was more  
 formidable and dreadful to all nations composed of ci-  
 zens who only used soldiers as a defence; as such, France  
 should be resisted with spirit, vigor, and temper, with-  
 out fear or scruple. In a case of such importance to the  
 country and to mankind as the present, gentlemen  
 should examine whether they had any sinister motive,  
 if in the divine presence, and act upon the pure result  
 of that examination. He declared he had no hesitation to  
 pronounce, as if before that presence, that ministers had  
 not precipitated the nation into a war, but were brought  
 to it by over-ruling necessity. I possess," said he, "as deep  
 a sense of the severe inflictions of war as any man can  
 possibly do—"Trembling I touch it, but with honest  
 heart"—I always held it as one of the last of evils, but  
 wish only to adopt it now from the conviction that at  
 distant period we should be obliged to encounter it  
 much greater disadvantage. For four years past it  
 grieved me to the soul, it almost reduced me to despair  
 when I observed how things were going on, and felt the  
 utmost exertions unable to produce upon the government  
 of the country, or in the public mind, a sense of the dan-  
 ger that approached them. At length the insatiable  
 was removed—ministers awoke to the peril that menaced  
 them ere it was too late; and our enemies, finding their  
 arts fail in which they so much confided, are reduced to  
 attack us in open war, and have declared against us.

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should therefore give them his clear, steady, uniform, unequivocal support ; not as some gentlemen did, pretend support on one day, to lessen their authority, impair their power, and obstruct their plans on another, but in the fullest manner he could. If any charge was to be laid to the share of ministers, it was that of too long delay ; but if from that delay any accident should arise from want of timely precaution, he would acquit them of it, knowing, as he did, that it was not possible for them with prudence to do otherwise, for had they done it at an earlier period they would not have been supported. In his opposition to the views and proceedings of France for two years he was convinced he had not the feelings of the nation ; nor was it till full-blown mischief had alarmed the people, and roused the king, that the government could have had a proper support. For his part, he thought himself bound in honour to support ministers ; and, if bound to support them, certainly to oppose those who acted adversely to them. From such men, men who could neither vindicate the principles nor deny the power of France, yet impeded the measures taken to secure us against that power, he differed fundamentally and essentially in every principle of morals, in every principle of manners, in sentiment, in disposition, and in taste. France," he said, " had for some time been in a continual series of hostile acts against this country, both external and internal ; first, it directed its pursuits to universal empire, under the name of fraternity, to overturn the fabric of our laws and government ; next, it invented a new law of nations, subsidiary to that intention ; then acted on that law ; next, it had directed the principal operations of that law to Great Britain ; and lastly, established a horrible tyranny within herself, chased every honest person out of it, held out temptations the most seductive to the unenlightened power order of all countries, and furnished instruments for the overthrow of their government. The putting the king of France to death was done, not as an example to France, not to extinguish the race, not to put an end

to monarchy, but as a terror to monarchs, and particularly to the monarch of Great Britain. This new created empire of theirs," Mr. Burke asserted, "was only secondary to the accomplishment of their plans of shaking all governments. This had been professed out of the mouth of their minister Cambon. He declared that the limits of their empire should be those that nature had set to them, not those of justice and reason; that is to say, the sea on one side, and the Alps and the Rhine on the other, together with a large cut of the Appenines, and all for the benefit of mankind, of liberty and equality. Should we be deterred by our wealth from resisting these outrages. They directed their invectives and reproaches more at England than any other place. They executed their unhappy, innocent monarch, whom they well knew to be no tyrant, principally, as they alledged, for a warning to all other tyrants, and an example to all other nations. Even a few hours after the execution of Louis, their minister of justice, Garat, addressing the convention, said, 'We have now thrown down the gauntlet to a tyrant, which gauntlet is the head of a tyrant.' He next read the declaration of the members who voted for the death of the king, some saying, 'the tree of liberty could not flourish till sprinkled with the blood of tyrants;' others declaring, 'that kings were no longer useful but in their deaths.'—Gentlemen had said, that if lord Gower had been left at Paris, or another ambassador had been sent in his place, the unhappy fate of the king of France might have been prevented. This," he said, "was answered by the fate of the king of Spain's ambassador, who had made, at the desire of his court, a requisition, but was refused. The murder of the king was intended only as a step to the murders of the other kings of Europe, for they had declared that no monarchical country could have alliance with them: this too at the very moment that they were affecting to conceal and explain away the decree of the nineteenth of November. War with the chateau, and peace with the cottage, was the plan of their new system: when

even

ever their power extended, they put the poor to judge upon the life and property of the rich; they formed a corps of desertion, a corps of assassination, and gave a pension to the wife and children of the assassin that was put to death for attempting the murder of the king of Prussia. They declared all treaties with despots void; they were outlaws of humanity, and uncommunicable people, who acknowledged no God but the sacred right of insurrection, nor any law but the sovereignty of the people; nor had any judges but *sans culottes*, whom they made arbiters of the lives and properties of all.—As to the rights of the poor, he hoped he understood them as well as the right honorable gentleman; the riches of the rich were held in trust for the poor; this the common people little understood, nor could they be made to understand it, if people held out false communications to corrupt them. Here he read a letter from Dumourier, general of the bare-breeched corps, to Anacharsis Cloots, orator of the naked posteriors. In this letter, after describing the blessings of atheism, and that which he called liberty, he says, ‘these are the sweets of philosophy! What pity it is that bayonets and cannon are the necessary means of propagating it.’ Atheism,” he said, “was the centre from which ray out all their mischiefs and villanies, and they proceed to establish it with the sword. He readily allowed that this was the most dangerous war we were ever engaged in; that we were to contend with a set of men now inured to warfare, and seduced on by enthusiasm and the order of conquest to such a degree, that they bartered the arts, commerce, industry, manufactures, and civilization itself for the sword. The alliances we may form give, however, a good prospect of subduing them, whereas, were they allowed to proceed, we may singly and in the end become their prey. Our riches would be no impediment to us; provided we used them properly, they would more benefit than injure in a war, provided that, in time of danger, we were more industrious to secure than to enjoy them. He then recited a variety of instances in which the



French manifested the most envious and malignant disposition towards this country, and left no effort untried to do it every possible mischief. He read from the *Moniteur* of Condorcet an account of the meeting of the English friends of the people in Paris; their address to the national convention, with their fraternal reception, and their toasts after dinner. Of the latter, one was the health of citizens Fox, Mackintosh, Sheridan, Paine, Barlow, and the other friends of liberty who enlightened the people of England. Should we be deterred by our wealth from resisting these outrages? What!" exclaimed he, "shall we live in a temporary, abject state of timid ease, to fatten ourselves like swine to be killed to-morrow, and to become the easier and better prey? No, God forbid! If we have the spirit that has ever distinguished Britons, that very wealth will be our strength, with which we shall be more than a match for their blind fury. With regard to the means the French have of carrying on the war, the plan of supply they had proposed was worthy of attention. Their minister stated, 'that the country had been purged of seventy thousand men of property, all of whose effects were to be confiscated, to the amount of two hundred millions sterling. Thus, like a band of robbers in a cave, they were reckoning the strength of their plunders. He said that they had two terms for raising supplies—confiscation and loan. The common people were relieved by confiscation of the property of the rich; and they reckoned on the confiscation of property in every country they entered with the brotherly intent of fraternizing, as a sufficient supply for their exigencies in that country, and their resource for making war; thus they made war supply them with plunder, and plunder with the means of war. The right honorable gentleman (Mr. Fox) has spoken with some asperity of an intention in ministers to restore the ancient government. He would not compare that government with the government of Great Britain; but certain it was, that it would be felicity and comfort compared to the present state of tyranny exercised in France.

France; for the very same papers out of which he had read the extracts before, contained the melancholy account that thirty thousand manufacturers were perishing for want in Lyons alone. Thus their enormities have produced misery, their misery will drive them to despair, and out of that despair they will look for a remedy in the destruction of all other countries, and particularly that of Great Britain.

V. Mr. Sheridan made a most animated reply to Mr. Burke: he began with saying, "that in one circumstance alone in the present debate he felt himself actuated by feelings and motives similar to those professed by the honorable member. The honorable gentleman had declared that he did not speak to support the minister, for his case had been so perfectly made out by himself that it needed no support; but that he rose solely to repel the insinuations and charges of his right honorable friend (Mr. Fox), so he could sincerely declare that he had no thoughts of attempting to give additional weight to the arguments by which his right honorable friend had, in his judgment, refuted those of the minister. He was provoked to rise solely by the insinuations and charges of the last speaker against his right honorable friend. Never had he before indulged himself in such a latitude of ungoverned bitterness and spleen, towards the man he still occasionally professed so much to respect. His ridicule of the smallness of the number of friends left to the object of his persecution, had become him of all mankind; but he trusted, however small that number was, there ever would be found among them men not afraid upon such a subject to oppose truth and temper to passion and declamation, however eloquently urged, or however clamorously applauded. They were stiled by the honorable gentleman a phalanx, and he stiled the amendment of his right honorable friend a stratagem to keep this phalanx together, who had been otherwise, it seems, endeavouring to make up for the smallness of their numbers by the contrariety of their opinions; an odd description

scription of a phalanx; no, he would never have given them that appellation, if he had not known the contrary of this to be the truth. He knew well their title to the character he had given them, and that a phalanx, whatever its extent, must consist of a united band, acting in a body, animated by one soul, and pursuing its object with identity of spirit, and unity of effort. His right honorable friend's purpose then, in this amendment, must have been, as he had stated it himself, to reconcile those differences of opinion in other quarters to which he had expressly alluded, and not those which existed no where but in the imagination of the man who he believed had at least exhausted all powers of splitting or dividing farther. But what suggested to him it must be a stratagem of his right honorable friends? Was he a man prone to stratagems? At any other time he would trust to his candor, even for an answer; for if ever there was a man who disdained stratagems by nature, who knew how to distinguish between craft and wisdom, between crookedness and policy, who loved the straight path, and sometimes even without looking to the end, because it was straight, it was the very person whom he now arraigns for craft and trickery. The next object of his sarcasm was, his right honorable friend's complaining of being so often misrepresented. 'Pity,' says the honorable member, 'that a gentleman who expresses himself so clearly, and who repeats so much, should be so liable to be misapprehended. A pity, certainly, but not much to be wondered at when misapprehension was wilful, and misrepresentation useful. The honorable member had only mistaken his own facility in perverting for his antagonist's difficulty in explaining. But another grievance was, that, however misunderstood in that house, these same speeches were detailed with great distinctness and care in the public prints, while those of an honorable friend near him (Mr. Windham) were, as he declared, perfectly mangled and misrepresented. There was no stratagem to be sure in this insinuation, but was there much cause

in it? Did any man living know better than he who made the insinuation, that nothing could exceed the carelessness of his honorable friend to the representation of his speeches out of doors? He believed he had never seen, touched, revised, or printed, a single line he had spoken in parliament in his life, or caused it to be done for him. If either friends or judicious editors were the more attentive to the task, he thought they did credit to themselves, and an important service to the public at large: not less candid was it to insinuate a purposed misrepresentation of another member's. (Mr. Windham) speeches. He claimed as long and as intimate a friendship with that gentleman as the honorable member who appeared so tremblingly alive to his fame; he thought equally highly of him in many respects: but he must, in the frankness of friendship, take the liberty of saying, that though no man had more information to ground argument upon, more wit to adorn that argument, or logic to support it; yet that the faculty, which had been rather sneered at in his right honorable friend, namely, that of rendering himself perfectly perspicuous and intelligible to every capacity, was not the distinguishing characteristic of that gentleman's eloquence. He was apt sometimes to spin a little too fine, and therefore it was possible, without any corrupt partiality on the part of the reporters of the debates, that his right honorable friend's (Mr. Fox) speeches might be given with a superior degree of perspicuity. He now proceeded to discuss Mr. Burke's other attacks on Mr. Fox; he was charged with a dereliction of principles in having that day omitted to express his apprehension of the increase of French power, be the French government what it may; certainly, Mr. Fox had not said one word upon that subject in his speech that day, but had he not in every one of his various previous speeches in this session distinctly and most forcibly avowed and urged his sentiments on that head. How pleasant to observe a gentleman who begins his speech with taunting his right honorable friend

for repeating things too often, reproach him in the next sentence for avoiding a repetition the most unnecessary he could have fallen into! But if the reproach was on that ground extraordinary, it was still more extraordinary that the general observation itself should have come from the quarter from which it proceeded! A dread of France it seemed ought to be a fundamental principle in the mind of a British statesman; no alteration in her government can change this principle, or ought to suspend this apprehension, and who was the gentleman so tenacious of this creed? The only man in all England who had held the directly contrary doctrine; had he, or could we have forgot that in his very first contemptuous revilings at their revolution, only in the last session of parliament, he had expressly scorned and insulted them as a nation extinguished for ever, and to be feared no more, and all in consequence of the change in their government; that he described the country as a gap and chasm in Europe. 'Their principles had done more,' said he, 'than a thousand fields like Blenheim and Ramillies could have effected against them; had they even got power by their crimes, like the usurpation of Cromwell, he could have respected or feared them at least, but they were blotted out of the European map of power for ever! And the historian had only to record—*Gallos olim bello floruisse*.—Yet this very gentleman," said Mr. Sheridan, "having last year expressed all this with as much heat as he had this year expressed the contrary sentiment, arraigns my right honorable friend for having omitted to re-echo for a single hour his unalterable apprehensions of the power of France, be the changes of its government what they may. It was still more curious to observe the manner of attempting to charge this circumstance on his right honorable friend. A book was produced, and he was proceeding to read a former speech of his (Mr. Fox's) as if he had ever once retracted his opinion on this subject. When the speaker called him to order, the honorable gentleman did not seem to take the interruption kindly, though certainly he ought to have been grateful



for it; for never, sure, was man, who had a greater interest in discouraging the practice of contrasting the past and present speeches, principles, and professions of any public man. Was the honorable gentleman ready to invite such a discussion respecting himself? If he were, and his consistency could be matter of regular question in that house, he did not scruple to assert that there was scarcely an *iota* of his new principles to which there was not a recorded contradiction in his former professions. Let a set of his works be produced, one member might read paragraph by paragraph, his present doctrines, and another should refute every syllable of them out of the preceding ones; it was a consolation to those who differed from his new principles to know where to resort for the best antidote to them. His next accusation against the mover of the amendment was, that he should have put the question on so mean an issue, as whether the actual hostile overt-acts committed by France had been sufficiently explained and disowned to this country. This it seemed was contemptible, it was a war against the principles of the French government we were to engage in, and not on account of their petty aggressions against us; and therefore it followed, that it was to be a war to exterminate either them or their principles. The doctrine he thought both wild and detestable; but admitting that was right, the honorable gentleman must yet extend his scorn and his rebuke to the minister, as well as to Mr. Fox, for though they differed in their conclusion, they had discussed the grounds of the war precisely on the same principle and footing. The honorable gentleman differed equally from both, or rather more from the minister, with respect to the professed motives and objects of the war, than from those who opposed the war. In his view he thought it most unmanly and unwarranted in the minister to sit still and listen to these inflammatory attacks, and even to cheer the war song of this honorable gentleman,

—*quo non præstantior ullus,*

*Ere ciere viros martemque accendere cantu.* VIRG.

when

when at the same moment he knew, and had even just declared, that the war was undertaken upon principles, and for purposes diametrically opposite to those upon which he suffered the house to be heated and misled by a spirit of vengeance and quixotism, which it was his duty to oppose and restrain. With the same persevering purpose of inflaming and misleading, the honorable gentleman had read so much from the cruel and unjust proceedings against the late unfortunate monarch, and from various other French publications. This habit of picking out all the hot, wrong-headed, and disgusting things, said or written by individuals in France, would never be so constantly resorted to for a fair purpose. The compilation on this principle, avowed by the treasury, and so often quoted by the honorable member, was an unworthy expedient, particularly as it had been done at a time when we still professed our hope and desire of peace. What a conduct like this had been pursued in France? if, when the convention came to deliberate on war and peace, and to decide on the provocations alledged to have been given by our government, pamphlets had been given to the members at the door of the convention, containing extracts from all the various speeches of that right honorable gentleman since the first revolution—containing, in appearance, every thing that the scorn of pride, the frenzy of passion, and the bitterness of malice could have urged against them, from the very outset, and assuming the applause of his hearers to be the will of the government, and to speak the voice of the people? If to these had been added every furious and indecent paragraph that had appeared in our publications, and especially in prints connected with administration, what would have been the opinion of such a proceeding at such a time? and what indignation, if we learned that this had not been a work hatched in the dens and caverns of savage murderers and foes to peace, but that it had been produced under the direction of the executive council itself, and at the very moment that they were professing their desire of avoiding hostilities with us, and of promoting a good understanding

standing? The honorable member would have been among the first to have quoted such a conduct in them as a new proof of mean hypocrisy and determined malice. The address and toasts of an idle dinner of English and others, at White's in Paris, was the next subject of the honorable member's alarm and invective. And to aggravate the horror of this meeting, the house was assured, that at it were drank the healths of Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan. The insinuation was scarcely worth noticing, nor should he have adverted to it, but just to shew how well entitled the honorable gentleman was to the credit he claimed for the accuracy of his facts and information. This anecdote wanted only one little ingredient to produce possibly some effect, namely, fact. The truth was, that neither his nor Mr. Fox's health were drank at that meeting, and it was a little unlucky that the honorable gentleman, who ransacked every corner of every French paper for any thing that could make for his purpose, should have overlooked a formal contradiction of such facts having been given, inserted by authority in the *Patriote François*; and it was the more unlucky, as the purpose of bringing forward this important anecdote was evidently to insinuate that they were in Paris at least considered as republicans; while the actual reason given for not drinking their healths was, that, though friends of the reform of abuses, they were considered as expressly against all idea of revolution in England, and known to be attached to the form of the existing constitution. The next specimen of the honorable member's extreme nicety with respect to facts, was the manner in which he proved the enormous ambition of France, by the convention's having adopted a proposition of the minister of justice (Danton) that the future boundaries should be the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the ocean; and great stress was laid upon this proposal having been made by a person of such rank in the state. Now for the fact.—Danton was not the minister of justice, and the proposition was not adopted by the convention. The honorable gentleman might have recollected, that if Danton had been

been minister of justice, he could not have been a member of the convention; and he ought also to have known, that the proposition, so far from having been adopted, was scarcely attended to. But the ambition of France, and her aggressions against this country, were not, according to the honorable member, the only causes of war. Religion demanded that we should avenge her cause. Atheism was avowed and professed in France. As an argument to the feelings and passions of men," Mr. Sheridan said, "that the honorable member had great advantage in dwelling on this topic, because it was a subject upon which those who disliked every thing that had the air of cant and profession on the one hand, or of indifference on the other, found it awkward to meddle with. Establishments, tests, and matters of that nature, were proper objects of political discussion in that House; but no general charges of deism or atheism, as pressed to the consideration by the honorable gentleman; thus far he would say, and it was an opinion he had never changed or concealed, that although no man can command his conviction, he had ever considered a deliberate disposition to make proselytes in infidelity as an unaccountable depravity of heart. Whoever attempted to pluck the belief from the prejudice on this subject, style it which he would, from the bosom of one man, woman, or child, committed a brutal outrage, the motive for which he had never been able to trace or conceive. But on what ground was this infidelity and atheism to be laid to the account of the revolution? The philosophers had corrupted and perverted the minds of the people; but when did the precepts or perversions of philosophy ever begin their effect on the root of the tree and afterwards rise to the towering branches? Were the common and ignorant people ever the first disciples of philosophy, and did they make proselytes of the higher and more enlightened orders? He contended that the general atheism of France was, in the first place, no honor to the exertions of the higher orders of the clergy against the philosophers—and, in the next place, that it was notorious that all the men and women of rank

and fashion in France, including possibly all the present emigrant nobility, whose piety the honorable gentleman seemed to contrast with republican infidelity, were the genuine and zealous followers of Voltaire and Rousseau; and if the lower orders had been afterwards perverted, it was by their precept and example. The atheism therefore of the new system, as opposed to the piety of the old, was one of the weakest arguments he had yet heard in favor of this mad political and religious crusade." Mr. Sheridan now adverted to Mr. Burke's regret that we had not already formed an alliance with the emperor. "If we made alliances with despots, our principles and our purposes would soon become the same; we took the field against the licentiousness of liberty, they against liberty itself. The effect of a real co-operation would be a more fatal revolution than even prejudice could paint that of France—a revolution in the political morals of England, and in consequence the downfall of that freedom which was the true foundation of the power, the prosperity, and the glory of the British nation. Sooner than entwine ourselves in such alliances, and pledge the treasure and blood of the country to such purposes, he had almost said he had rather see England fight France single handed—he feared the enemy less than our allies. He disliked the cause of war, but abhorred the company we were to fight in still more. He had a claim to call on the right honorable gentleman to join him in these principles: who were these allies, and what had been their conduct? Had he (Mr. Burke) forgot his character of the Polish revolution?—"That glorious event had bettered the condition of every man there, from the prince to the peasant, which had reduced millions, not from political slavery, but from actual chains, and even personal bondage."—Who had marred this lovely prospect, and massacred the fairest offspring of virtue, truth and valor? Who had hypocritically first approved the revolution and its purposes, and had now marched troops to stifle the groans of those who dared even to murmur at its destruction? These allies, these chosen associated



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and bosom counsellors in the future efforts of this deluded nation. Could the right honorable gentleman palliate these things? No. But had he ever arraigned them? Why had he never come to brandish in that house a Russian dagger, red in the heart's blood of the free constitution of Poland? No, not a word, not a sigh, not an ejaculation for the destruction of all he had held up to the world as a model for reverence and imitation! In his heart is a record of brass for every error and excess of liberty, but on his tongue is a sponge to blot out the foulest crimes and blackest treacheries of despotism." Mr. Sheridan observed, "that the honorable gentleman had never made any allowance for the novelty of that situation in which France stood after the destruction of its old arbitrary government." This Mr. Sheridan pressed very forcibly; insisting "that it was a mean and narrow way of viewing the subject to ascribe the various outrages in France to any other cause than this unalterable truth, that a despotic government degrades and depraves human nature, and renders its subjects, on the first recovery of their rights, unfit for the exercise of them. But was the inference to be, that those who had been long slaves ought therefore to remain so forever, because, in the first wildness and strangeness of liberty, they would probably dash their broken chains almost to the present injury of themselves, and of those who were near them? No, the lesson ought to be a ten-fold horror of the despotism which had so profaned and changed the nature of social man; and a more jealous apprehension of withholding rights and liberty from our fellow-creatures; because, in so doing, we risked and became responsible for the bitter consequences: for after all, no precautions of fraud or craft can suppress or alter this eternal truth, that liberty is the birth-right of man, and whatever opposes his possession is a sacrilegious usurpation." Mr. Sheridan concluded with averting to the evident intention of the minister, to render unanimity impossible, but said "he should never retract his former declaration; that the war once entered into

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into, he should look to nothing but the defence of the country and its interests, and therefore give it a sincere and steady support."—The amendment of Mr. Fox was negatived, and the address, as moved by the minister, carried without a division.

VI. Mr. Fox and his friends were resolved to exert their utmost abilities to ascertain the real and precise grounds of the war, that if possible every obstacle to amicable accommodation might be removed, and at all events the public might be fully informed of those objects for the attainment of which the nation was about to expend its blood and treasure. Accordingly, on the eighteenth of February, Mr. Fox, with this view, presented to the house the following resolutions. First, "That it is not for the honor or interest of Great Britain to make war upon France, on account of the internal circumstances of that country, for the purpose either of suppressing or punishing any opinions and principles, however pernicious in their tendency, which may prevail there, or of establishing among the French people any particular form of government."—Secondly, "That the particular complaints which have been made against the conduct of the French government are not of a nature to justify war in the first instance, without having attempted to obtain redress by negotiation."—Thirdly, "That it appears to this house, that in the late negotiation between his majesty's ministers and the agents of the French government, the said ministers did not take such measures as were likely to procure redress, without a rupture, for the grievances of which they complained; and particularly that they never stated distinctly to the French government any terms and conditions the accession to which, on the part of France, would induce his majesty to persevere in the system of neutrality."—Fourthly, "That it does not appear that the tranquillity of Europe, and the rights of independent nations, which have been stated as grounds of war against France, have been attended to by his majesty's ministers in the case of Poland, in the invasion of which unhappy country, both

in the last year and more recently, the most open contempt of the law of nations, and the most unjustifiable spirit of aggrandizement, have been manifested without having produced, as far as appears to this house, any remonstrance from his majesty's ministers."—Fifthly, "That it is the duty of his majesty's ministers in the present crisis, to advise his majesty against entering into engagements which may prevent Great Britain from making a separate peace, whenever the interests of his majesty and his people may render such a measure advisable, or which may countenance an opinion in Europe, that his majesty is acting in concert with other powers for the unjustifiable purpose of compelling the people of France to submit to a form of government not approved by that nation."—Mr. Fox alledged, "that his object in making these motions was to pronounce a declaration of the precise grounds upon which gentlemen had voted for the war, for from many circumstances he was well persuaded that the *real* objects of our ministers in going to war were those which they disclaimed; and that *those* which they avowed were only pretexts. The motion however occasioned a very heated debate, less interesting than any of the preceding ones, by the repetition of old arguments; but so completely superabounding with invective and malevolent insinuation, that Mr. Burke out did all his former folly, fury and extravagance. The house divided 44 for the motion, against 226.

VII. That the sentiments of opposition, however upon the conduct of ministers and the causes of the war might remain fully and unequivocally recorded, Mr. Grey on the twenty first of February, moved an address to his majesty, which as it contains a most masterly and comprehensive view of the whole question relative to the war merits insertion at full length. Mr. Grey, without any previous speech, moved.—"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure his majesty that the faithful commons, animated by a sincere and dutiful attachment to his person and family, and to the excellent constitution



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constitution of this kingdom, as well as by an ardent  
 zeal for the interest and honor of the nation, will at all  
 times be ready to support his majesty in any measures  
 which a due observance of the faith of treaties, the dig-  
 nity of his crown, or the security of his dominions, may  
 compel him to undertake. That feeling the most ear-  
 nest solicitude to avert from our country the calamities of  
 war, by every means consistent with honor and with  
 safety, we expressed to his majesty, at the opening of the  
 present session, our sense of the temper and prudence  
 which had induced his majesty to observe a strict neutrali-  
 ty with respect to the war on the continent, and uni-  
 formly to abstain from any interference in the internal  
 affairs of France; and our hopes that the steps his ma-  
 jesty had taken would have the happy tendency to ren-  
 der a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving  
 the blessings of peace. That, with the deepest con-  
 fidence, we now find ourselves obliged to relinquish that  
 hope, without any evidence having been produced to sa-  
 tisfy us that his majesty's ministers have made such ef-  
 forts as it was their duty to make, and as, by his ma-  
 jesty's most gracious speech, we were taught to expect,  
 for the preservation of peace: it is no less the resolution  
 than the duty of his majesty's faithful commons to se-  
 cond his efforts in the war thus fatally commenced, so  
 long as it shall continue; but we deem it a duty equally  
 incumbent upon us to solicit his majesty's attention to  
 those reasons or pretexts by which his servants have la-  
 boured to justify a conduct on their part which we can-  
 not but consider as having contributed, in a great mea-  
 sure, to produce the present rupture. Various grounds  
 of hostility against France have been stated, but none that  
 appeared to us to have constituted such an urgent and im-  
 portant case of necessity as left no room for accommoda-  
 tion, and made war unavoidable. The government of  
 France has been accused of having violated the law of  
 nations, and the stipulations of existing treaties, by an  
 attempt to deprive the republic of the united provinces of  
 the exclusive navigation of the Scheld. No evidence,  
 however,

however, has been offered to convince us that this exclusive navigation was, either in itself or in the estimation of those who were alone interested in preserving it, of such importance as to justify a determination in our government to break with France on that account. If, in fact, the states general had shewn a disposition to defend their right by force of arms, it might have been an instance of the truest friendship to have suggested to them, for their serious consideration, how far the assertion of this unprofitable claim might, in the present circumstances of Europe, tend to bring into hazard the most essential interests of the republic. But when, on the contrary, it has been acknowledged that no requisition on this subject has been made to his majesty, on the part of the states general, we are at a loss to comprehend on what grounds of right or propriety we take the lead in asserting a claim, in which we are not principals, and in which the principal party has not, as far as we know, thought it prudent or necessary to call for our interposition. We must farther remark, that the point in dispute seemed to us to have been relieved from a material part of its difficulty, by the declaration of the minister of foreign affairs in France, that the French nation gave up all pretensions to determine the question of the future navigation of the Scheld. Whether the terms of this declaration were perfectly satisfactory or not, they at least left the question open to pacific negotiation, in which the intrinsic value of the object, to any of the parties concerned in it, might have been coolly and impartially weighed against the consequences, which all of them might be exposed, by attempting to maintain it by force of arms. We have been called upon to resist views of conquest and aggrandizement entertained by the government of France, all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but asserted to be peculiarly so, when connected with the propagation of principles, which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly

verf

versive of the peace and order of all civil society. We admit, that it is the interest and duty of every member of the common-wealth of Europe to support the established system and distribution of power among the independent sovereignties which actually subsist, and to prevent the aggrandizement of any state, especially the most powerful, at the expence of any other; and, for the honor of his majesty's councils, we do most earnestly wish that his ministers had manifested a just sense of the importance of the principle to which they now appeal, in the course of the late events, which seemed to us to threaten its entire destruction. When Poland was beginning to recover from the long calamities of anarchy, combined with oppression, after she had established an hereditary and limited monarchy like our own, and was peaceably employed in settling her internal government, his majesty's ministers, with apparent indifference and unconcern, have seen her become the victim of the most unprovoked and unprincipled invasion, her territory overrun, her free constitution subverted, her national independence annihilated, and the general principles of the security of nations wounded through her side. With all these evils was France soon after threatened; and with the same appearance either of supine indifference, or of secret approbation, his majesty's ministers beheld the armies of other powers (in evident concert with the oppressor of Poland) advancing to the invasion and subjugation of France, and the march of those armies distinguished from the ordinary hostilities of civilized nations by manifestoes, which, if their principles and menaces had been carried into practice, must have inevitably produced the return of that ferocity and barbarism in war, which a beneficent religion, and enlightened manners, and true military honor, have for long time banished from the Christian world. No effort appears to have been made to check the progress of these invading armies; his majesty's ministers, under pretended respect for the rights and independence of other sovereigns, thought fit at that time to refuse even the

the interposition of his majesty's councils and good offices, to save so great and important a portion of Europe, from falling under the dominion of a foreign power. But no sooner, by an ever memorable reverse of fortune, had France repulsed her invaders, and carried her arms into their territory, than his majesty's ministers, laying aside that collusive indifference which had marked their conduct during the invasion of France, began to express alarms for the general security of Europe, which, as it appears to us, they ought to have seriously felt, and might have expressed, with great justice, on the previous successes of her powerful adversaries. We will not dissemble our opinion, that the decree of the national convention of France of the 19th of November, 1792, was in a great measure liable to the objections urged against it; but we cannot admit that a war, upon the single ground of such a decree, unaccompanied by any overt acts, by which we or our allies might be directly attacked, would be justified as necessary and unavoidable. Certainly not, unless upon a regular demand made by his majesty's ministers of explanation and security in behalf of us and our allies, the French had refused to give his majesty such explanation and security. No such demand was made. Explanations, it is true, have been received and rejected. But it well deserves to be remarked and remembered that these explanations were voluntarily offered on the part of France, not previously demanded on ours, as undoubtedly they would have been, if it had suited the views of his majesty's ministers to have acted frankly and honorably towards France, and not to have reserved their complaints for a future period, when explanations, however reasonable, might come too late, and hostilities might be unavoidable. After a review of all those considerations, we think it necessary to represent to his majesty, that none of the points which were in dispute between his ministers and the government of France, appear to us to have been incapable of being adjusted by negotiation, except that aggravation

France

French ambition, which has been stated to arise from the political opinions of the French nation. These indeed, we conceive, formed neither any defineable object of negotiation, nor any intelligible reason for hostility. They were equally incapable of being adjusted by treaty, or of being refuted or confirmed by the events of war.— We need not state to his majesty's wisdom that force can never cure delusion; and we know his majesty's goodness too well to suppose that he could ever entertain the idea of employing force to destroy opinions by the extirpation of those who hold them. The grounds, upon which his majesty's ministers have advised him to refuse the renewal of some avowed public intercourse with the existing government of France, appeared to us neither justified by the reason or the thing itself, nor by the usage of nations, nor by any expediency arising from the present state of circumstances. In all negotiations or discussions whatsoever, of which peace is the real object, the appearance of an amicable disposition, and of readiness to offer and to accept of pacific explanations on both sides, is as necessary and useful to insure success as any arguments founded on strict right. Nor can it be denied that claims or arguments of any kind, urged in hostile or haughty language, however equitable or valid in themselves, are more likely to provoke than to conciliate the opposite party. Deploring, as we have ever done, the melancholy event which has lately happened in France, it would yet have been some consolation to us to have heard that the powerful interposition of the British nation on this subject had at least been offered, although it should unfortunately have been rejected. But, instead of receiving such consolation from the conduct of his majesty's ministers, we have seen them, with extreme astonishment, employing, as an incentive to hostilities, an event, which they had made no effort to prevent by negotiation. In this inaction they could only excuse on the principle that the internal conduct of nations (whatever may be our opinion of its morality) was no proper ground for



for interposition and remonstrance from foreign states—a principle from which it must still more clearly follow that such internal conduct could never be an admissible, justifying reason for war. We cannot refrain from observing, that such frequent allusions as have been made to an event (confessedly no ground of rupture) seemed to us to have arisen from a sinister intention to derive, from the humanity of Englishmen, popularity for measures which their deliberate judgment would have reprobated, and to influence the most virtuous sensibilities of his majesty's people into a blind and furious zeal for a war of vengeance. His majesty's faithful commons, therefore, though always determined to support his majesty with vigor and cordiality in the exertions necessary for the defence of his kingdoms, yet feel that they are equally bound by their duty to his majesty, and to their fellow subjects, to declare in the most solemn manner, their disapprobation of the conduct of his majesty's ministers throughout the whole of these transactions—a conduct which, in their opinion, could lead to no other termination but that to which it seems to have been studiously directed, of plunging their country into an unnecessary war. The calamities of such a war must be aggravated in the estimation of every rational mind, by reflecting on the peculiar advantages of that fortunate situation which we have so unwisely abandoned, and which not only exempted us from sharing in the distresses and afflictions of the other nations of Europe, but converted them into sources of benefit, improvement and prosperity to the country. We, therefore, humbly implore his majesty's paternal goodness to listen no longer to the councils which have forced us into this unhappy war, but to embrace the earliest occasion which his wisdom may discern, restoring to his people the blessings of peace."—This motion being made by Mr. Grey, the negative figure was given by the minister in a few words, stating, that such a subject required no discussion.

VIII. The erection of barracks in different parts of the kingdom, which the legal authorities of this country

had ever considered as unconstitutional, induced Mr. M. A. Taylor, on the twenty-second of February, to bring the subject formally before parliament. After quoting the opinions of Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Pelham, lord Gage, judge Blackstone, &c. to prove the illegality of the measure, Mr. Taylor said, "that the whole system of ministers shewed an evident preconcerted design to curb and overawe the people by the bayonet and the sword, instead of applying, if necessary, the wholesome correction of the laws of England; and this, in his conscience, he believed to be their intention." Mr. Taylor confessed "he was much alarmed; but he was told that there was no danger, because the right honorable gentleman is a constitutional minister, and in proof of it he has certainly made many elaborate declarations on the beauties of the constitution. He could not, however, help considering the maxim to be equally just in politics as in religion, that 'by their deeds you shall know them.' If he saw the excise laws extended, could he help thinking that the liberty of Englishmen was invaded? Since the vote of that house some years ago, 'that the influence of the crown had increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished,' that influence had alarmingly increased: we are now going altogether from liberty: we have engaged in a war for the support of despotism: men have been dismissed from the service of the crown on account of abstract speculative opinions: associations have been formed on the most dangerous and unlawful principles, and for the worst purposes. We are going from the standard of the constitution to the standard of the crown. If we go to church to perform the sacred duties of religion, we hear canting priests talking of passive obedience and divine right. Probably, as my opinions on these subjects are different, I may be *anathematized* as in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity. He did not mean to enter into any argument with respect to the king's rights in virtue of his prerogative of erecting statutes; but, before proceeding to erect them, it was undoubtedly the duty of his majesty's ministers to have informed

informed the house of their intention to do so, and of the reasons which induced them to think it a measure either prudent or necessary. It had been the uniform desire of the right honorable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) to lower the spirit of inquiry in that house; all he thinks proper to ask of them is, to pay for what is already done; but they must not inquire the reason for which it is done.— In the present instance, the ground intended for the purpose was purchased, and the barracks erected in summer, and the right honorable gentleman endeavoured to smuggle them through the house. This appeared to him to be a great constitutional question, and he thought it highly dangerous that barracks should be erected entirely at the pleasure of the crown." He said, "that in the motion which he should take the liberty of submitting to the house, he should adopt the words of judge Blackstone," and he concluded with moving, "that it is the opinion of this house that the uniform and persevering opposition of our ancestors from time to time to the erecting barracks in this country, was founded upon a just sense of the true principles of our most excellent constitution, and that the opinion has been justified upon high, legal, and political authority, that the soldiers should live intermixed with the people, in order that they might be connected with them; and that no separate camp, no barracks, no inland fortresses, should be allowed." After a very warm debate, the minister moved the order of the day, and the original motion was negatived without a division.

IX. Of the alarm which had been excited throughout the nation at this period, by the reports of plots and conspiracies, an artful use had been made by ministerial writers, and even some malignant allusions had escaped both houses, the obvious intent of which was indirectly to implicate the whig members in the obnoxious charge. In this season of general delusion, to oppose a destructive war with France, was held to be dangerous to England, and the opposition were so openly and grossly calumniated, that to many their very names were synonymous

the term enemy and traitor. To obviate at once these base and injurious attacks, Mr. Sheridan, with a manliness which appears to have confounded his adversaries, on the fourth of March, gave a fair and open challenge to the partizans of ministers, and reduced them to the predicament of producing publicly the ground of their allegations, or by rejecting his motion, tacitly to admit, that such insinuations, with respect to himself and his friends, were palpable and shameless falsehoods. The motion, which Mr. Sheridan on this occasion submitted to the house was in substance—"That the house of commons, on the succeeding Monday, should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the seditious practices, &c. referred to in his majesty's speech." The object of his motion he candidly stated to be, "an inquiry into the truth of those reports which asserted the existence of sedition in this country—Reports which, whatever some might think of them, he was sure, were calamitous in their effects to this country, and might become more so if not checked in time. When he said he should move for a committee to inquire into those things, he did not wish to say any thing upon the effect of such inquiry at present; his object was to know in what situation this country really was; and also to know whether the language made use of by his majesty's ministers upon the subject of sedition, conspiracy, and treason, was not at least premature at the time it was uttered, and consequently that nothing had happened in this country that would justify government in the steps they had taken, and the proceedings they had instituted. At present he had no satisfaction of thinking, as he believed the house really did, that these reports were ill founded; but to remove all doubt was the object of his motion. Parliament met early in December last, and they were called together in a very extraordinary manner: this of itself was matter of alarm to the country, for they naturally concluded it could not have been so assembled, had there not been strong reasons for it. Parliament took it for granted that every thing said by ministers was true upon the subject

of sedition lurking in the country at the beginning of the session: this was a fraud upon the public, and the house ought to feel it so; for he really and in his conscience believed that the *alarm was spread for the express purpose* of diverting the attention of the public for a while, and afterwards *leading them more easily into a war*. When ministers came to that house, and called upon it to strengthen the hands of government, they were always bound to explain the real motives they had for asking that assistance, in order that the house of commons, as the representatives of the people, might be able to tell that people, whose lives and treasure were to be expended, the reasons why they were to be deprived of the rights they had before enjoyed; for he would maintain it as a maxim, that to strengthen the hands of government was necessarily, for a time, to weaken the rights of the people. Let us suppose, for instance, the whole evil was really felt, as ministers had described it at the beginning of the session—what then would follow? Most certainly the adoption of a committee of inquiry, in order that a plan should be laid for our future safety. In another point of view, suppose the whole to be a device on the part of government, for the purpose of leading the people more easily into a war with France, by persuading them that there are, at this moment, many agents from France, who are doing every thing they can to disturb the peace and tranquillity of this country; in this case, a committee should be appointed to inquire, in order that the public should know the deception which had been practised on them; and that if the war had been so commenced, the people should be enabled to employ the means of declaring to the throne their sentiments upon that subject. Associations had been formed in every part of the nation, for the protection of persons and property against republicans and levellers. What have these societies been doing? First of all, they had been employed to prevent the circulation of Paine's book, and the jockey club, and to bring to punishment the distributors of the publications—works which had, for many months, been

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spread all over the country, by the connivance, as he might say, of his majesty's ministers; and this too when one of those very ministers had an opportunity of reflecting upon the impropriety of such publications, who had himself formerly indulged a disposition not to treat the high powers of this country with that respect which was due, and had, no doubt, repented of that temper, and thoroughly changed his sentiments. 'What care I for the king's birth-day? What is the king's birth-day to me?' or some such coarse expression, had, he believed, been uttered by a noble duke some time since. There were many instances in which a panic had been communicated by one class of men to the other. His friend (Mr. Windham) had been panic struck, and now strengthened the hands of government. Not later than the preceding session, 'he would pull off the mask of perfidy;' and declaimed loudly against that implicit confidence which some had argued ought to be placed in ministers. It was owing entirely," Mr. Sheridan said, "to this panic, that Mr. Windham now prevailed upon himself to support the minister; 'because he had a bad opinion of him.' It was owing to this panic, that a noble and learned lord (Loughborough) had given his *disinterested* support to government, and had accepted the seals of an administration he had uniformly reprobated. But above all, it was owing to this panic, that a right honorable gentleman (Mr. Burke) had lost his fine taste and descended to the most ridiculous pantomimic tricks, and contemptible juggling—such as to carry knives and daggers to assist him in efforts of description. God forbid," continued Mr. Sheridan, "that a brave nation should be blinded for a long time by a few individuals, and that a whole country should be false to itself, and destitute of honor, because an individual or two had betrayed their character, and because a few persons were interested in propagating false alarms. He took notice of the hardships under which many individuals labored in consequence of this false alarm having been sounded: publicans had been told by different magistrates of the effect

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of their allowing any conversation upon politics in their houses, that if they conducted themselves in the least degree displeasing to the court, they should lose their licences; and still farther, they were asked what papers they took in. 'Do you take in the Morning Chronicle or Post?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Take care there is no sedition in it; for, if there is, you are liable to punishment for distributing it to your customers.' He concluded with some severe strictures on the conduct and principles of Mr. Reeves's association; on Dr. Horsley's sermon, and on the extraordinary change of principles in Mr. Pitt, and other members of administration, on the subject of a parliamentary reform.

X. Mr. Windham opposed the motion, and said "it was notorious that the country at the period alluded to by the honorable mover, teemed with seditious publications. He had seen symptoms of a discontented spirit, not at Norwich only, but at various other places; and when people of all descriptions, from all parts of the kingdom, seemed to concur in feeling the same species of alarm, such terror could not be totally unfounded: there could not exist so much smoke without fire."—Mr. Fox in a most powerful speech, "remarked how many of the idle stories which had at first been propagated concerning plots and seditions had already been given up as untrue. He mentioned, in particular, the report of a conspiracy to seize the tower." Mr. Fox said, "he and his friends were not obstinate infidels; they only desired to be convinced." He mentioned "that the direct lie had been given to many pamphlets, equally dangerous with Paine's books, particularly one called the dream of an Englishman, which had been industriously circulated. It had been confidently said, that he and his friends had corresponded with persons in France; on the contrary it had been proved, that for more than two years he (Mr. Fox) had not written a single letter to France, except one to the earl of Lauderdale, while that nobleman was at Paris. The conduct of the friends of administration," he said, "reminded him of a bill which was once proposed in consequence  
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numerous burglaries, of which the Jews were supposed to be the perpetrators. The tenor of this bill was, that any Jew, or suspected person, who should be seen looking down an area, should be pronounced guilty—DEATH. He concluded, by saying, that he was still incredulous, and should vote for inquiry, which was never more necessary than when the situation of the country was apprehended to be dangerous." Though Mr. Sheridan's motion was negatived without a division, it was not however without its effect, since as the adherents of ministry, by this conduct, evidently declined the challenge to enter upon a fair inquiry, it completely exonerated the whig party from the illiberal and unprincipled insinuations to which they had before been exposed.

XI. The minister having succeeded in plunging the nation into a war with France, by concealing from their sight the real grounds of the quarrel, and the object to be attained by hostilities; his next concern was to suppress from their view the necessary hardships that must attend it. Accordingly, on the eleventh of March he brought forward his budget for the current year, and took the average of the last four years successful peace, as the foundation for his present estimate; presumptuously flattering the nation with the delusive prospect of an increasing revenue notwithstanding the dreadful drawbacks of a ruinous war. The unprecedented number of bankruptcies which immediately followed, and the many additional burdens which have been since imposed upon the people, have but too fatally detected the fallacy of the minister's speculation. Mr. Sheridan observed on Mr. Pitt's speech on this occasion, "that it had little novelty except the novelty of introducing in a day devoted to figures all the arts of declamation. He had suddenly laid down his pencil and slate, and grasping his truncheon, had finished with an harangue more calculated for a general of a heated army going to storm a French redoubt, than a minister of finance discussing accounts in the sober hour of calculation with the stewards and attorneys of a burdened and patient people. Whenever

he saw exertion and eloquence so misplaced, he always suspected there was some weakness to cover in the subject itself. He was the more led into the apprehension by some very alarming hints the right honorable gentleman had dropped concerning new connections still to be formed. It seemed the expensive corps of twelve thousand Hanoverians were not the only foreign troops we were to pay. New subsidies and foreign mercenaries were announced, and in a manner that seemed to avow that government were adopting the general principles of the Austrian and Prussian detestable confederacy.

XII. To second the warlike schemes of the youthful minister, the irritation of the public mind was still systematically to be kept up, and strong and violent measures at home were the means employed to protract the national delusion. The plain simple law of treason, settled in the twenty fifth of our third Edward, which for five hundred years had been found fully effectual against all attacks upon the constitution, was, after being sealed by the venerable sanction of so many centuries, to be opened to the admission of new crimes and offences, framed obviously for the purpose of countenancing the false alarms of sedition and treason, which ministers had found it necessary to excite in the country. Accordingly the attorney general, on the fifteenth of March, moved for leave to bring in the traitorous correspondence bill, of which the following is the outline. "That it was in future to be made high treason, first, To supply the existing government of France, or any persons in alliance with them, with arms or military stores, or to purchase any thing for them. Secondly, To purchase lands of inheritance in France, to invest money in any of the French funds or to lend money on any security in France. Thirdly, To go from this country into France without licence of his majesty and the privy seal. Fourthly, For a British subject to land in Great Britain without a passport or leave, or else to deliver himself to the next magistrate, to undergo an inquisitorial examination, and faithfully to disclose where he had been, whither he was going.

going, the reason of his journey out and home, and give security to any amount required for his good behaviour. Fifthly, To underwrite insurances upon ships and goods bound from France to any part of the world.

XIII. This bill was combated by the members of opposition with persevering firmness and distinguished ability through every stage of its progress. On the motion of leave for its introduction being made by the attorney general, Mr. Fox commenced the attack on its principles and object. "He rose," he said "to take the first opportunity of expressing his disapprobation of the bill. If the law of treason was doubtful, a bill to explain it might be necessary; but he, who had never before heard of those doubts, had no reason to think the law obscure, and therefore could not think a bill necessary to explain it. If the law of treason wants explanation, then the question will be, whether the provisions of the bill now proposed conformed to that intention. The first part that struck his mind, was the prohibiting any person in this country from purchasing lands in France. British subjects had frequently possessions in foreign countries, and no evil, which he had ever heard of, had hitherto resulted from that circumstance; and he was firmly convinced that nothing at this moment could be more dangerous than holding out that idea. Something of this kind had been proposed during the American war, respecting property held in Pennsylvania; but the minister of that day rejected with disdain a proposition so unjust and impolitic. We had always encouraged foreigners, even in time of war to deal in our funds; and they had always held their property sacred; and he would ask whether encouragement afforded on both sides to deal in the funds, would operate most in favor of this country or of France; of that which had most, or that which had least credit? Surely at present men would not be so blind to their own interests as to prefer French security to English. As to the next prohibition in the bill, the applying the French with arms, if that part of the law was to be thoroughly revised, he should perhaps question whether



whether it would not be of advantage to this country to trade with its enemies, and sell them every article of arms, whilst we had prompt payment, at our own price, for them. Respecting Englishmen going to France without a passport," Mr. Fox said, "he should pass it by as the least exceptionable clause in the bill. But as to the provision against Englishmen returning to their country, it was monstrous enough to make the learned gentleman ashamed to state it. It was giving a power to the king to banish, during the war, every British subject now in France. Though he may return in certain cases by giving security, who are to be the judges of the amount of that security? This was to be left to a magistrate—Here one man was to be put under the discretion of another who might render his return impossible, by exacting security to an amount that could not be given. As to the clause which prohibited the insurance of French ships, he had less objection to it than several others, because it appeared to him to be merely foolish, for the balance would be in favor of the English, who would in that case be the underwriters, because the premium was always supposed to be more than the risk. He concluded with saying that the whole of the bill was unnecessary, and many of the parts of it repugnant to the common principles of justice; its provisions were either detestable or useless, and he believed it made part of the support which ministers found themselves under the necessity of lending to the *false alarms of treason and sedition* lurking in the country."

XIV. Mr. solicitor general defended the propriety of the bill, "The statute of Edward the third, he asserted, left the law of treason in some doubt, because the nature of treason was, in some measure, to be determined by existing circumstances, and of consequence there had been continual declarations of what, in particular instances, constituted treason. As to the purchase of lands, he stated, that one of the causes of the calamities of the American war, was the private interest of individuals, in consequence of their professions, which

duced them to take a part contrary to their sentiments. As to the prohibition of persons to go to France, he observed, that the intentions of those who would visit that country were suspicious, except a proper case could be made out, and then a licence would be granted them."

XV. Mr. Erskine, in an animated speech, replied to the crown lawyers. He said, "that in many instances the attorney and solicitor general had the advantage of him, on the present occasion; they had studied the point for some time, and therefore must understand it. Such however was the love of this country for their king and constitution, that for fifteen years that he had been at the bar, he had witnessed but one trial for high treason. This was the best answer that could be given to the vile calumny and most infamous libels cast upon them when they were charged with sedition and treason. Upon a legal ground," Mr. Erskine maintained "that the bill was contrary to the best policy of our ancestors, contrary to the best opinions and authorities in the world upon that subject. The mover of the bill had professedly taken the works of lord Hale for his guide: no man ever more disapproved than lord Hale of those temporary acts which had been made in addition to the statute of Edward. In Edward the fourth's reign, and in Mary's reign, those acts were swept away. Thus," said Mr. Erskine, "you have the sense of parliament upon those acts—acts of treason sprung up like weeds, and were swept away, not only without any inconvenience, but with the most salutary effect. The fundamental principles of the law ought not to be shaken by unnecessary acts of the legislature. He remarked the tendency of the present bill to throw suspicion upon the people. The attorney general comes forward with a bill, explanatory of the statute of Edward the third, to tell them what circumstances in the present period would be deemed treasonable. By this bill the act of treason is made independent of the mind; whereas, in cases of treason, the mind only was criminal, and the overt act served but as evidence to prove the criminal intention. By this act the punishment will be inflicted

flicted without examining the mind or intention of the offender. Respecting that part of the bill which prohibits persons from purchasing land in France, it was altogether needless in the present state of that country; and instead of prohibiting persons from purchasing in the French funds, ministers should rather take care that a calamitous war might not prevent from purchasing in our own."

XVI. On the twenty second of March, in a committee of the whole house upon this business, Mr. Grey objected to the preamble of the bill, because no fact had been stated on which the measure could be justified. If it was only the intention of administration to clear up any doubts that might arise upon the construction of the twenty fifth of Edward the third, that intention should be stated. He objected to the manner in which the preamble was worded, the insinuations it was calculated to countenance, and the idea of alarm which it tended to encourage. Though government might think it politic to keep a decreasing alarm alive, yet it was a very improper mode for those, who conceived that every violation of the principles of liberty subtracted something from the common happiness of the human race."

XVII. Mr. Burke rejoiced that, "in times of public emergency, the ministers, and legislators of this country had recourse to the wholesome principles of our ancestors. The present bill had been condemned by the gentlemen of opposition with much acrimony, but he had not heard one argument to disprove the utility of the regulation now proposed. At the time of the revolution in 1688 the next chapter to the bill of rights, contained an act empowering his majesty to take up and imprison all suspected persons. He considered this precedent as quite sufficient. With regard to whig and tory, if properly understood, he hoped that neither of them would be considered as enemies to their country. A whig, in his opinion, was a person who agreed to the constitution of king, lords, and commons; but who, on any public misunderstanding, would adhere to the aristocracy and democracy."

democracy of the country. A tory was a person who acted upon principles quite contrary, by favouring on all occasions the prerogative of the crown. Those who believed the constitution was secure without the present bill, argued on false principles. No period occurred in history more detrimental to its vital principles than the present; and government merited applause and gratitude, in proportion to their vigilance and activity. You are now at war," said Mr. Burke, "with an enemy who has urged war with your constitution, and who has been but too successful in establishing among you a dangerous domestic faction."—After a general exclamation of No! No! No!—Mr. Burke continued, "that gentlemen might now deny the assertion, but, at a future period," said he, "I will name them to their confusion though not to their shame! And if it were a house as it is a committee, I would, perhaps, embrace the opportunity of communicating my information and sentiments thereon." Mr. Burke defended the bill upon the ground of the necessity there was of giving up some advantages, when the whole of our constitution and property was attacked, in order to enjoy in future the pleasure of handing down to posterity the blessings of our constitution and government. Mr. Burke complained that he had himself been denounced in France, and read a paragraph from a French newspaper characterising him as a *madman*, and denouncing him 'the Orestes of the British parliament, the furious Burke.' Mr. Burke next mentioned the domiciliary visits made in France; and added, "that any internal inconvenience which might result from granting unusual power to the minister of the crown, even if badly exercised, was infinitely preferable to the situation we must be in, if Dumourier and his barbarians were to come among us, and, with an appeal to the *sans culottes*, convoke primary assemblies, to rob, and at the same time to legislate for the nation."

XVIII. Mr. Sheridan observed, that as Mr. Burke had come to something like a pledge, that he would name certain persons of a factious description at some future

future day—"I now challenge him to name those persons when he pleases," said Mr. Sheridan, "for painful as these observations are for me to make, I must repeat to that right honorable gentleman, that I expect to hear his list of names and his proofs, but then let me tell him what sort of proof I shall require of him. He meant not to be satisfied with the right honorable gentleman's reiterating his charges vaguely, or even with his naming any particular men, and calling them *traitors*, because all knew the *facility* with which that could be done. Nor did he mean to say that he should be contented with hearing general assertions of our danger.—He should expect to hear the right honorable gentleman mention the names of the conspirators, and what they were, and what measures they had taken to manifest their intentions, and consequently to justify him with loading them with the black appellation of *traitors*.—He should also expect a proof of the necessity of the present bill. If the defenders of it failed in this, then he must declare them calumniators of the people of this country. As to the state of sedition in the country, he believed there was one editor of a newspaper who had been frightend by ministers, and had run away; an attorney was under prosecution on a charge for which he had given bail; and a bill-sticker was in jail for posting up a paper he could not read! These were the mighty proofs of the whole country being in a state of insurrection! Was there any real cause for alarm when the duke of Richmond converted the tower into a fortress, and gave it all the appearance of a place preparing to hold out against an attack? If there was no information of a design being formed for taking it, then this was part of the system adopted by ministers for a well-understood purpose; 'they raised an alarm which *themselves did not believe*.' The intention of either treason or insurrection had not been proved. If any person carried a concealed dagger for the purpose of assassination, he was amenable to the law; but if he only brought it with him concealed, and made use of it for the purpose of heightening



ening the effect of an oratorical attitude in the delivery of a sublime speech, he certainly was not. As to the *brigades domiciliaires*, as practised in France, and justly complained of by Mr. Burke, it was a measure harsh enough, but we might see something of the same kind in this metropolis, thriving wonderfully under the auspices of Mr. Reeves, and the society of which he was so worthy a president; as also under Mr. Luke Idefon, and sir Joseph Banks. These gentlemen, by themselves and agents, particularly the latter, had entered into a great number of houses, and had called upon the occupants of them to give a particular account of their incomes, the sex, the age, the stature, the colour, and the complexion."

XIX. On the ninth of April, upon the third reading, the bill was again strongly contested. Mr. Fox said, "he should not conceive himself to be doing his duty to the public, by suffering this bill to pass without making some observations. It was a bill unjust in its principle, inadequate in its provision, and tyrannical in its effects; one for which there was nothing like a precedent either in policy, justice, or humanity. It was, indeed, said to be a bill, the principle of which was to prevent aid and comfort being given to his majesty's enemies. He said the bill had no such principle—it had that for its pretext indeed, but there was a material difference between pretext and principle". Here Mr. Fox took notice of the nature of the bill as originally brought in by the attorney-general, and the different aspect it now assumed from the alterations it had undergone; and which, however modified, was still in point of policy alone such as this country would gain less, and our enemies lose less by, than if no such measure had been adopted. But it was not upon policy alone that this bill was to be considered. Great as that consideration ought to be, there were other considerations that were still of a higher nature—he meant justice and humanity.—These were of more importance, because they regarded the character of the country in its most valuable sense. It would be

impossible to know, by the perusal of the bill, what was declaratory and what was enacting; and as, by part of this bill, cloth was not prohibited now, although it was so when the bill came in, what would be the result of this? Why, that as nothing was said of cloth in it, and as the declaratory was not distinguished from the enacting part, no man could know whether in sending cloth he would or would not be liable to the penalties of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third. In what a situation were the poor people of this country to be placed (for poor people they might well be called, if subjected to such a bill) when living under a law of treason, without having a possibility of knowing the operation! If the bill did not operate to prohibit the sale of cloth by the subjects of this country, and some should fear it did and therefore they should suffer themselves to be ruined in their fortune rather than risk their lives, they suffered a great hardship. If, on the other hand, some persons thought that as the bill specified certain articles, the sale of which it prohibited, they might safely sell those that were not specified at all, and afterwards should turn out that this bill did not repeal the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third, here then they would be entrapped and ensnared by this bill into the penalties of treason. What a situation was this for the people of this country to be in—to be subject to the penalties of a crime, without the possibility of knowing what constituted that crime! With respect to the clauses of the bill, there were many of them to which no man who had the least feeling for his fellow creatures could agree, one in particular, which turned upon the meaning of the word *agree*, or rather the constructions upon it. There was an act of parliament for preventing frauds by verbal agreement, providing that no man shall be bound by any evidence given of having entered into any verbal agreement, if the sum amounted to more than ten pounds; and the principle of that bill was, that upon all conversation and verbal communication there was to be opening for the commission of perjury; but, by the pro-

sent bill, all ideas of justice and humanity were abandoned, and evidence which in a civil case would not affect a man's purse to the amount of ten pounds, were here to take away his life! This would put any man in the power of malice, and lead to subornation of perjury." Mr. Fox concluded with saying, "that from every view of the bill, he must give the motion his decided negative." The bill was defended by Mr. Burke and Lord Carhampton; and opposed by Mr. Lambton and Mr. Courtenay. The house then divided, for the bill 154, against it 53.

XX. No measure of the present session occasioned more violent debates than the traitorous correspondence bill. Its repugnance to the liberal spirit of English law awakened in a peculiar manner the attention and excited the jealousy of every friend to the constitution in both houses. In the house of lords it encountered an opposition equally powerful and equally unavailing. On the fifteenth of April, the order of the day for the second reading of this bill being read in the upper house, lord Grenville rose, and confined his observations to the general outline of its principle, "which went," he said, "to prevent the enemy, during the war, from being supplied by subjects of this country, in the way of commerce, with any articles useful and important to them in carrying on the war against us; or from deriving any resources, through the medium of this country, which might afford them the means of prosecuting the war. The part of the bill was only declaratory. The crime of treason had ever been reckoned, in all countries, to be paramount to every other; and the reason of this was obvious; because, as it is a first and fundamental principle of all criminal law, that crimes ought to be punished, not in proportion to the degree of moral turpitude, but as they affect the interests of society, so that crime ought to be above all others the most dangerous, which, instead of attacking the property or security of any private individual, goes to the total overthrow and dissolution of the whole society, and of its established government."

His lordship then stated the law of treason in this country in the same manner as had been done in the lower house, and concluded with saying, that the bill should have his hearty support.

XXI. The marquis of Lansdowne said, "the present bill was not adapted to the desirable purpose of putting an end to the ruinous war in which we were unhappily engaged. He maintained that the whole principle of the insurance clause was repugnant to the commercial interests of this country, because other nations would take that business up as we abandoned it, and the large profits which our merchants had been accustomed to make, would in all probability be lost to us for ever. By the present measure he was sure emigrations would take place; he had reason to know that many had already been meditated. Had their lordships any idea of the effect of these emigrations, and of the progress of America by those means? He said he should do all in his power to bring this war to a conclusion on our part, and should never countenance a measure that tended to prolong it, as it was a war that could only heap calamity on calamity."

XXII. Lord Lauderdale declared, "that he perfectly coincided in the opinion delivered by the noble marquis on the pernicious tendency of this bill. He warned the house of the danger of affecting contempt for those who exercise the government of France. He remembered very well, when, in another house of parliament, a great affected contempt was thrown upon those, who were then called Hancock and his crew; but that doctrine cost this country much treasure, the effect of which we feel pretty severely at this moment. He maintained the injustice, inefficacy, and the impolicy of the whole bill, and the tyrannical nature of several of the clauses in particular." The lords Darnley, Porchester, and Hawkesbury spoke in support of the bill, and the lords Guilford and Stanhope against it. When the question was put, the house divided—contents (including eleven Proxies) 62—non-contents 7.

A. D. 1793.

GEORGE III.

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XXIII. While the traitorous correspondence bill was in agitation, a proposal was made to lord Grenville by the French executive council, for putting an end to the calamities of war by amicable negotiation, and a passport was demanded for M. Maret, who was to be invested with full powers to treat. The letters from M. le Brun were brought over by an English gentleman, with proper attestations of their authenticity, and by him delivered to the noble secretary. It is supposed, that M. Maret had it in his instructions unequivocally to offer to our ministry these three points: first, that the navigation of the Scheld should be given up; Secondly, that the French troops should not approach the Dutch territories within a given distance; and, that the decree of the nineteenth of November should be either altered or repealed. When the ostensible reasons for undertaking a war are thus previously removed by the concessions of the enemy, it is strange that ministers should so militate against the peace, prosperity, and happiness of their country; for no notice whatever was taken of this application.\*

XXIV. The unprecedented number of bankruptcies which took place at this time both in London and in the principal trading towns in England, had occasioned the appointment of a committee by the house of commons, to examine into the state of the commercial credit of

\* The following letters were delivered to lord Grenville (No. I. and II.) on Friday the twenty sixth of April 1793, by Mr. John Salter of Poplar, at his lordship's office, Whitehall, on his lordship's requisition, after having perused Mr. Salter's authority.

NUMBER I.

"My Lord,

"The French republic being desirous to terminate its differences with Great Britain, and end a war which, by the manner it is otherwise likely to rage, cannot fail to bring miseries dreadful to humanity on both nations, I have the honor to demand of your lordship, as minister of his Britannic majesty, a passport and safe conduct for a person possessed with full power



of the country.' The report of this committee stated that it would be necessary to issue exchequer bills for five millions, at an interest of two and a quarter per cent. per day, &c. &c. These bills were made issuable to certain commissioners appointed by parliament, and were by them to be made out for the assistance and relief of such persons as might apply, and who could give proper security for the sums advanced. Though these alarm-

ing  
to repair to London for that purpose. Mr. John Salter, notary public in London, will deliver this to your lordship, and, on the condition of its being requisite, another letter, containing the name of the person who will have the confidence of his nation:

" Paris, April 2d, 1793,

" Second year of the  
French republic.

" To his excellency  
Lord Grenville."

" I have the honor to be

" My Lord,

" Your lordship's obedient  
humble servant,

" The minister for foreign  
affairs,

" LE BRUN."

#### NUMBER II.

" My Lord,

" Agreeable to the intimation given in my last letter and which has for its object the restoration of peace I have the honor to inform your lordship that M. Maret will be deputed to give to our nation that desirable event. I need not remind your lordship that it will be necessary to attach to him three persons, as his secretary, valet de chambre, and a courier, but I claim of your lordship the necessary protection for them.

" I have the honor to be

" Paris, April, 2d, 1793,

" My Lord,

" Your lordship's most  
obedient humble servant

" To his excellency  
Lord Grenville."

" The minister for foreign  
affairs.

" LE BRUN."

Copy of the minister Le Brun's letter to Mr. Salter

" Sir,

" You will deliver to his excellency lord Grenville  
minister and secretary of state to his Britannic majesty

A. D. 1793.

GEORGE III.

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ing distresses were evidently the early fruits of the war, the sagacious and never diffident secretary Dundas roundly asserted, in the debate upon the report of the committee, that so far from the evil complained of being brought on by the war, "*that the present embarrassments arose from the prosperous state of the country at large. The very circumstance of the present stagnation was a proof of the power and energy of this country!*"

XXV. Mr. Sheridan had given notice to the house, of his intention to make a motion of censure upon lord Auckland for the memorial that nobleman had recently presented to their high mightinesses the states general. Accordingly, on the twenty fifth of April he introduced the business by observing, "that he was about to make a motion which not only involved the characters of the whole of his majesty's ministers, but also the character of the British nation. On the fifth of the present month, lord Auckland, his majesty's minister at the Hague, signed a memorial, upon which the motion he should conclude with would be founded. He made a quotation

his majesty for foreign affairs, the inclosed letter, No. I. and if his lordship demand it, also the inclosed letter, No. II. on behalf of the French republic.

"Paris, April, 2d, 1793, "I am, with consideration,  
"Second year of the "Sir,

French republic "Your very humble and obedient servant,  
"To Mr. Salter, Poplar  
London."

"The minister for foreign affairs,

"LE BRUN."

"And I do attest the truth of the before-mentioned copies of letters, No. I. and II. as also the letter to Mr. Salter, to have been signed by M. Le Brun, minister for foreign affairs in France, in my presence; to have received the letters so delivered to lord Grenville (as also copies of the same) from the said minister, and to have delivered the same into the hands of Mr. Salter; and I do hereby authorise and desire the publication thereof.

"JAMES MATTHEWS."

"Biggin House, Surry, May 21st, 1793."

tion from Vattel, on the law of nations, who says, 'that for nations at war it is necessary to observe, that they ought to abstain from all harsh expressions of hatred, animosity, or contempt of each other,' &c. "This," he said, "appeared to him to contain such a necessary lesson to lord Auckland, that in the next dispatches a copy of it ought to be sent him. With regard to the particular paper of the fifth of April, he objected to it not only on account of its particular indecency, but also on account of its opening and disclosing a new principle for carrying on the war; a principle hitherto in this country totally unknown. The noble lord proceeded to state in his memorial, 'that divine vengeance seemed not to have been tardy.' Upon this head he had only to observe, that we were engaged in a war, which, for our safety, we had pursued to the accomplishment of its originally avowed object; and with respect to the divine vengeance, from motives of respect, decorum, and piety, we should at least be silent till we saw the termination of hostilities. Mr. Sheridan objected to this paper, because it declared all peace with the people of France utterly unattainable until there should be dictated, according to the desire of the combined powers, a certain form of government in France. The minister ought plainly to speak out, and inform the people of this country to what extent the war was to be carried on. If we countenanced the memorial of lord Auckland, we should say, that the whole nation, convention, all the members of the districts, in short about eight or nine millions of people must be put to death before we could negotiate for peace. This would be a war for a purpose entirely new in the history of mankind; and as it was called a war of vengeance, he must say that we arrogated to ourselves a right which belonged to the divinity, to whom alone vengeance ought to be left." After Mr. Sheridan had given an account of the execrable division of Poland, and reprobated the silence and inactivity of ministers on that important point, he said, "could any robbery which had been committed by the most desperate of the French, or any of their acts,

more infamous than this?" He concluded with moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to express the displeasure of this house at the said memorial, &c. And that the minister at the Hague, in making that declaration, has departed from the principles upon which this house was induced to concur in the necessary measures for the support of the war." \*

## XXVI.

\* The following is a copy of the memorial alluded to.

"HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

"It is known that toward the end of the month of September, last year, his Britannic majesty and your high mightinesses gave, in concert, a solemn assurance, that in case the imminent danger, which then threatened the lives of their most christian majesties and their families, should be realized, his majesty and your high mightinesses would not fail to pursue the most efficacious measures to prevent the persons who might render themselves guilty of so atrocious a crime, from finding any asylum in your respective states. This event, which was with horror foreseen, has taken place, and the *divine vengeance* seems not to have been tardy. Some of these detestable regicides are now in such a situation that they can be subjected to the sword of the law. The rest are still in the midst of a people whom they have plunged into an abyss of evils, and for whom famine, anarchy, and civil war are about to prepare new calamities. In short, every thing that we see happen induces us to consider as not far distant the end of these *wretches*, whose madness and atrocities have filled with terror and indignation all those who respect the principles of religion, morality and humanity.

"The undersigned, therefore, submit to the enlightened judgment and wisdom of your high mightinesses, whether it would not be proper to employ all the means of your power to prohibit from entering your states in Europe, or your colonies, all those members of the pretended national convention, or of the *pretended* executive council, who have directly or indirectly participated in the said crime; and if they should be discovered and arrested, to deliver them up to justice, that

XXVI. After Mr. Pitt had defended the conduct of lord Auckland at great length, and detailed the customary invectives against the national convention, Mr. Fox rose, and made an energetic speech in favor of the motion, and in defence of Mr. Sheridan against the attacks of Mr. Pitt. Speaking of the division of Poland he said, "We are now acting in concert with the dividers of that country—we ourselves were the dividers of Poland; for while we were courting them to aid us in war against French principles, we furnished them with a pretext, and afforded them the opportunity of dividing Poland. We were the guarantees of Dantzic, which Prussia, our ally, had taken possession." The house divided for the motion, 36, against it, 211.

XXVII. A motion nearly similar was on the seventeenth of June made in the house of lords, by Earl St. Hope. "The memorial of lord Auckland," his lordship said, "on the first moment that it appeared in public had struck him as a ferocious and unwarrantable paper and he had determined to bring it before the house; but understanding that the noble ambassador was to take his seat there before the end of the session, he had waited for his presence. He would begin then by stating, in a declaratory resolution, what he conceived to be the meaning of that horrid paper of lord Auckland's, upon which he should move for an address to the king, to disavow it. And if this was carried, he should think it his duty to proceed against lord Auckland the author. His lordship observed, that such diabolical papers had uniformly produced consequences the very reverse of what was the short sighted view of their author. The horrid proclamation of general Burgoyne had, in answer, created an army that took him and all his army prisoners. In the same manner the infamous manifesto of the duke of Brunswick, in which he threatened to put to the sword, the men, women, and children of Paris, that they may serve as a lesson and example to mankind.

(Signed) "Auckland.

"Done at the Hague, "Louis C. de Starhemberg  
this 5th day of April.

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roused all France, irritated the minds of men, and so inflamed the multitude, that it produced the revolution of the tenth of August, the massacres of the second of September, and finally the murder of the king. He did not accuse lord Auckland of a production so infamous; but his paper was of the same cast; it was disgraceful to the country; it was a piece of studied ribaldry, and industrious impertinence; and it was as nonsensical in design, as it was injurious in its style; for the noble lord ought to have known, that nothing was so easy as to make use of invective, and that there was no argument to abuse." Lord Stanhope concluded with moving, "That the house having taken into its most serious consideration a memorial presented by his excellency lord Auckland and the count de Starhemberg, to their high mightinesses the states general, at the Hague, the fifth of April last, are of opinion that the meaning and intention of the said declaration was to induce the states general to deliver the French prisoners, then in their hands, to trial, in order to put them to death."

XXVIII. Lord Grenville said, "that the declaration was made in the spirit of the instructions given to lord Auckland, certainly not in the letter." He defended his conduct, and moved an amendment, by leaving out all the words, after the words presented on the fifth of April, and to introduce in their stead, "that the memorial delivered by lord Auckland is *conformable to the sentiments of his majesty*, and those carried to the throne by both houses of parliament, and that it was consonant to the sentiments of justice and policy which it became the honor and dignity of the nation to express." After a very warm debate, in the course of which lord Auckland attempted to defend himself, lord Grenville's motion of approbation was carried without a division.

XXIX. The great question of a parliamentary reform was the next subject which claimed the attention of the legislature. Twenty-three petitions, praying a reform, had been presented to the house of commons, signed by fifteen thousand persons; and on the sixth of May, Mr. Grey

Mr. Grey made his promised motion. He began by stating the difficulties he had to encounter in his attempt to procure a parliamentary reform; "for," he said, "while the numerous and respectable petitioners to the house in some measure facilitate my way, by the various arguments which the subject affords them, they, at the same time informed the house, that they were not the real representatives of the people; and probably will be a very disagreeable confession to the members themselves. Respecting the chief objection of this being an improper time for reform, it would be equally rational in times of prosperity and adversity, in times of war and of peace. If our country happens to be prosperous, it is then asked, whether we should be more than happy, or more than free? In times of adversity, on the other hand, all reform or reformation is deprecated, from the pretended risk of increasing evil and pressure of our situation. Hence it would appear that the time for reform never yet had come, and never would come. By arguments such as these, the reform has been hitherto combated; and by the like means it ever would be attacked, until some dreadful convulsion should take place, which might threaten the constitution itself with annihilation. Many have been the unsuccessful attempts to bring about a reform, but no time had never yet been found for it. In 1733 a petition was made in that house, by Mr. Bromley, for a repeal of the septennial act, and that motion was supported in a very able speech by Sir William Windham. Several attempts had been made in the years 1745, 1758, 1783, and 1785. Mr. Pitt himself had brought the business forward in the last three of those years, but the same objection as to time was then made, and opposed by the right honorable gentleman strongly and fully in argument, but without effect." When Mr. Grey came to take notice of burgage tenures, and the splitting of messuages and hereditaments, for the purpose of multiplying voters, contrary to an act of king George III. for preventing such practices, he quoted an opinion

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Cunningham . . 1 0	Churchill . . . 2 0	Shakspere . . .
Milton . . . . 3 0	Prior . . . . . 2 6	Odenham . . . .
Pope . . . . . 3 6	Pomfret . . . . 0 6	Hammond . . . .
Young . . . . . 3 0	Congreve . . . 1 0	Fenton . . . . .
Falconer . . . . 0 6	Butler . . . . . 2 6	West . . . . .
Farnel . . . . . 1 6	Swift . . . . . 3 0	Dyer . . . . .
Dryden . . . . . 2 6	Cowley . . . . 3 6	Tickle . . . . .

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A. D. 1793.

GEORGE III.

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judicially by Lord Thurlow, when sitting as chancellor in the house of lords, in an appeal from Scotland, respecting the right of voters at elections. His lordship said, 'If the right of election could be tried by law in a court of law in England, as it was in Scotland, he was convinced that an English court of law would not be satisfied with such a mode of election as this; that a nobleman's steward should go down to a borough with ten or twelve pieces of parchment in his hand, containing each the qualification for a vote, and having assembled a sufficient number of his master's tenants round a table, should distribute among them the parchments—then propose a candidate—and afterwards collect these parchments, and declare his lord's friend duly elected for the borough.' These elections Lord Thurlow called a mockery." Mr. Grey concluded with moving, that the petition (of the friends of the people) be referred to a committee.

XXX. Mr. Erskine seconded the motion. Mr. Powis, the staunch and anti-reformer of the old school, observed that Mr. Grey had come forward as the organ and delegate of a society (the friends of the people), who often joined with the performers of another theatre, and they acted together at the Crown and Anchor Tavern more than once. After a few more remarks equally silly, in this orator's usual way, and some invectives from Mr. Windham, Mr. Erskine rose again, and said, 'he would call the attention of the house to the motion before it. What then did this petition assert? It asserted that this House which is invested with the mighty authority of the representatives of the whole people of Great Britain, were chosen by a number smaller than the subscribers to some of the petitions which to day had been treated with neglect: it stated, that this gross inequality was rendered more unequal by the vast disproportion of the bodies who elected: it asserted that elections were, and must, in spite of all laws, continue to be procured by notorious corruption; that peers of parliament, sent up to the other house from their influence in this, sent by their

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mandates

mandates others to represent them; and small as the numbers were (compared with the whole people) who elected the majority of the house of commons, they themselves were but nominal representatives, the majority of those who sat there being elected by the patronage of the crown, and a few great men of the realm, by means of which the people had lost all share in our balanced constitution. These were the facts the petitioners stated; and the question was, whether the house was prepared to say in the face of the public, and to the people they represented, 'Let these things continue!' for that would be their language if they negatived the motion." Mr. Erskine then gave an account of our ancient parliaments and observed, "that whoever looked at the English history would perceive, that in the infancy of that house, and before the confirmation of its high privileges, the commons were uniformly bent on maintaining popular privileges, and formed a *real* and *practical* balance against the crown. A modern author of great eloquence," said Mr. Erskine, "speaking of those changes in the English government, truly observed, that the virtue, spirit, and essence of a house of commons consist in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation. It was not instituted to be a control *upon* the people, as of late it has been taught, by a doctrine of the most pernicious tendency; but as a control *for* the people!" He maintained "that the mighty agitations which now convulsed and desolated Europe, that the disastrous events of the moment which were opposed to the motion before the house owed their very existence to the corruptions of government, which these petitions sought to do away." Upon a loud laugh issuing from the opposite side of the house Mr. Erskine said, "there was nothing so easy as that: I could give an answer. It would, however, be more decent and parliamentary, to expose his mistakes by reason and argument. The principle of the remedy for the abuses complained of must present itself to every mind alike, though different persons might differ in detail. It could be nothing other than to simplify and equalize the franchise of election."



tion, to make each body of electors too large for individual corruption, and the period of choice too short for temptation, and by the subdivision of the places of election to bring the electors together without confusion, and within every man's reach. Surely this was at once just and practicable."

XXXI. The discussion being adjourned to the following day, it was then resumed by Mr. Stanly, who said, "that the constitution, consisting of three branches, was admirably adapted to promote the liberty and happiness of the nation, but they had their distinct provinces. The commons should not wait to be instructed and excited by their constituents to promote their interests, but they should anticipate them in every thing. If there was danger, it ought to be discovered, and guarded against in the first instance by the representative body." Mr. Stanley said, "though he was a friend to the reform in parliament, he desired it to be understood that he was so under certain modifications."

XXXII. Mr. Duncombe reminded the house, that he had twice had the honor of seconding motions made by Mr. Pitt upon that subject. As the association of last winter, he observed, while they were so strenuously supporting the constitution, acknowledged the existence of abuses, he thought the sooner these abuses were corrected the better, and he conceived the present as fit a time for their correction as any other.

XXXIII. Sir William Young declared it had been his opinion ever since he began his political career, that the country had too much of a commercial turn, and that commerce would soon become more than a match for its virtues.<sup>16</sup> The petitioners proposed a measure that evidently tended to throw weight into a scale which preponderated too much already. He asserted that boroughs bought and controlled by men of property, formed the only balance to the commercial influence, which was increasing by too rapid strides, and which ought to be checked. He denied that true representation was founded either upon property or numbers abstractedly considered.

A delegation of members to that house ought ever to be of gentlemen answering the description of those whom he then addressed, persons having one common interest with those who sent them there. He was therefore of opinion that the petitions were ill founded, and that no alteration ought to take place.

XXXIV. Mr. Francis arose, and after animadverting upon what had fallen from the preceding speakers, went at great length into the necessity of a parliamentary reform. He then quoted a letter from the Earl of Chelsterfield to his son, purporting, 'that he had offered five and twenty hundred pounds for a secure seat in parliament, but that the borough jobber laughed, and told him that the rich East and West Indians had secured them all, at the rate of three thousand pounds at least.'—"You see," said he, "how the case stood twenty years ago. Do you really believe that the purity of borough-mongers, and the morals of the electors of Great Britain, are mended since that time? that the commodity is not so scarce, or the demand for it not so considerable, as it has been heretofore. He was convinced that corruption had increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

XXXV. The earl of Mornington said, "that his objection applied to the whole spirit and substance of the measure which was the subject of this debate; but that he did not mean to complain of the particular form in which it had been introduced into that house." His lordship then entered into a long recapitulation of the blessings which Englishmen enjoy under the present form of government. "These advantages," he said, "are confirmed by a peculiar excellence in the practical effect of the present structure of parliament. Whatever might be contended to be the defective state of the representation in theory, it is an undeniable fact, proved by daily experience, that there is no interest in the kingdom, however inconsiderable, which does not find some advocate in the house of commons to recommend it to the attention of the legislature." He then alluded to the prosperous state of the country, and ascribed that prosperity to the excellence

lency of our present form of government. "Of all the petitions on the table, he selected one only as deserving the considerations of a committee. That petition was expressed with caution, but was signed by fewer names than any other on the table, and is avowedly the production of the society of gentlemen associated under the title of *THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE*." His lordship took notice of a petition with the name of *Thomas Hardy* at the head of the signatures—a name obscure in this country, but not unknown to the national convention in France. This petition stated, 'that the right of voting should be restored universally to every man not incapacitated by nature or by crimes.' His lordship expressed his fixed detestation of this plan. He took considerable pains to acquaint the house with the Gallic emissaries of Mr. John Frost and Mr. Joel Barlow, and with their transactions with the national convention of France. He then noticed "the social compact of the celebrated Rousseau, that fountain-head from which the principles of the French revolution have been derived, and to which," he said, "the corresponding society had paid particular attention." He concluded with asserting, "that the public good required that no alteration should be made in the existing frame of parliament."

XXXVI. Mr. Whitbread spoke in favor of reform. In stating some of the gross and shameful abuses in borough elections, he was betrayed into the use of some obnoxious expressions, and was called to order; upon which he addressed the speaker in the following terms: "Sir, am I too free in what I am saying? Am I acting against your orders? it may be so; but if these things should meet your ear upon the steps of this house, as you descend from the chair, can you contradict them? No, you cannot. *I do know*, and the petitioners who signed the petition now upon your table *are ready to prove*, that many members are nominated by individuals to serve in this house. Refute the charge! 'We cannot,' you say. "Apply the remedy then!" 'We will not assent to that.' "Then, at least, tell the people of En-

gland—We have investigated your statement, and we find it to be true; but we can prove to you that the country is as well governed, and that things go on as well how as they would do if the representation were reformed."

XXXVII. Mr. Pitt, in a speech of considerable length, explained his former motives for being friendly to a parliamentary reform, and his objections against it at the present moment. "If this principle of individual suffrage, pointed at in several of the petitions, was to be carried to its utmost extent, it went," he said, "to subvert the peerage, and to depose the king; and, in fine, to extinguish every hereditary distinction, and every privileged order, and to establish that system of equalizing anarchy announced in the code of French legislation, and attested in the blood of the massacres at Paris. The question then," added Mr. Pitt, "is, whether you will abide by your constitution, or hazard a change, with all that dreadful chain of consequences with which we have seen it attended in a neighbouring kingdom."

XXXVIII. Mr. Sheridan refuted the arguments and exposed the affected fears and alarms of the chancellor of the exchequer. "This," he said, "it was that soured the temper of the people, that neither in the church, the army, the navy, or any public office, was any appointment given, but in consequence of parliamentary influence; that, in consequence, corrupt majorities were at the will of the minister. In short, whether the eye was directed to the church, the law, the army, or to parliament, it could only observe the seeds of inevitable decay and ruin in the British constitution." He concluded by affirming, "that the object of reform he and his friends had in view, would be persevered in until it should be accomplished."

XXXIX. Mr. Fox pointed out in strong terms the inconsistency of the present conduct of the chancellor of the exchequer with his former professions. He contended "the minister had no right to say, that a motion for a parliamentary reform was more dangerous now than his conduct in the year 1782. The mode of proceeding lately insti-

upon, that a member who proposed the redress of any grievance, must move a specific remedy before the house could take the grievance into consideration, was directly contrary to the most approved parliamentary practice. As to the time of attempting a reform," Mr. Fox observed, "it had been proposed at all times, in war and in peace, but they were all said to be improper. There could be no objection to the motion being made now, except that it was made by his honorable friend instead of the minister. In the pride of his new wisdom, his present self felt such contempt for his former self, that he could not look back upon his past conduct and opinions without a sort of consulting derision. As Lord Foppington, in the play, said, 'I begin to think that when I was a commoner, I was a very nauseous fellow:' so the right honorable gentleman began to think, that when he was a reformer, he must have been a very foolish fellow: he might, nevertheless, have retained some degree of candor for his honorable friend, who had not yet received the new lights with which he was so marvellously illuminated." Mr. Fox said, "he had always disliked universal representation as much as the chancellor of the exchequer; but that dislike was no reason for charging it with more mischief than was fairly imputable to it. It had not been the cause, as the right honorable gentleman had alledged, of all the evils in France. That nation, after doing great honor to itself, by shaking off its old intolerable despotism, had since been governed by councils generally unwise and often wicked. But what had this to do with its reform?" He then proceeded to consider the conduct of the house since the American war. "When the India bill which he had the honor to propose was lost, was it because the bill was unpopular? By no means. Whatever medium had been afterwards excited against it, the people then expressed no disapprobation of the measure. The right honorable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had no hand in its defeat; for, ready and able as he was to speak against it, it passed the house of commons by a great majority. By whom then was it thrown out? Let the me-



rit be given to those to whom it belonged—it was thrown out by certain bed-chamber lords, acting under the direction of those who had access to advise the king. The dismissal of the ministry followed the rejection of the bill, and the house of commons adhered to the discarded ministers." He concluded by calling the objection to the time for reform "a fallacy, a mere pretext for putting off what the house could not help seeing to be necessary, but felt unwilling to begin." The house divided; for referring the petitions to a committee 41, against it 282.

XL. No subject of importance sufficient to demand particular attention occurred during the remainder of the session; and on the twenty-first of June the king prorogued the parliament. In his speech on this occasion his majesty noticed "the rapid and signal successes which had in an early period of the campaign attended the operations of the combined armies; the respectable and powerful force which he had been enabled to employ by sea and land, and the measures which he had concerted with other powers for the effectual prosecution of the war; all of which afforded the best prospect of a happy issue to the important contest in which we are engaged."

Such was the termination of a session of parliament peculiarly eventful to Britain, in which the most cogent reasons were advanced for the termination of a war founded, on our part, not in principles of sound policy but evidently involving a variety of circumstances of the most ruinous tendency to the interest and welfare of this country. The most powerful opposition however could not divert ministers from the prosecution of their favorite plan. They had sounded the alarm, and were determined to persevere in hostility.

## CHAPTER II.

I. *Introductory Remarks.* II. *Proposal of Dumourier to take Possession of Maestricht—Rejected by the Executive Council.* III. *Plan for the Attack of Holland.* IV. *Maestricht invested.* V. *Dumourier's Manifesto—Breda invested—Taken. Klundert taken.* VI. *British Guards sent over to Holland.* VII. *Failure of the French Expedition*

expedition against Cagliari. VIII. The French defeated by General Clairfait—By the Prince of Cobourg. IX. The Siege of Maastricht raised—The general Retreat of the French. X. The Battle of Neerwinden—The French defeated. XI. The ruined State of the French Army. XII. Dumourier treacherously negotiates with the Austrians. XIII. The Negotiation concluded. XIV. Commissioners sent from Paris to discover Dumourier's Intentions. XV. Commissioners sent to arrest him—The Commissioners sent Prisoners to the Austrians. XVI. The Army abandons Dumourier. XVII. The Manifestos of Dumourier and the Prince of Cobourg. XVIII. Dumourier goes over to the Austrians. XIX. Reflections on that Event. XX. Congress held at Antwerp. XXI. Rebellion in La Vendée. XXII. The Organization of the French Army. XXIII. State of the French Army on the Rhine. XXIV. State of the West-India Islands. Tobago taken. XXV. Siege and Surrender of Condé. XXVI. Of Valenciennes. XXVII. Of Mentz. XXVIII. Expedition against Dunkirk resolved on. XXIX. British Troops separate from the Main Army and march to Westlanders. XXX. The Expedition defeated. XXXI. Quénouilly taken by the Allies. XXXII. The French joined in a general Attack on the Allies at Lauterbourg. XXXIII. The French take Menin, Courtray, &c. XXXIV. Royalists of La Vendée defeated and dispersed. XXXV. Reduction of Calvados—Of Marseilles—Of Lyons. XXXVI. The Decree of the French for rising in Mass. XXXVII. The Trial and Condemnation of the Queen. XXXVIII. Lines at Weissembourg forced by the Allies. XXXIX. Allies completely defeated at Moguenau. XL. The French repulsed in an Attack upon the Duke of York's Out posts. XLI. Toulon retaken by the French. XLII. The Successes of the French in Italy. XLIII. Lord Moira's Expedition. Reflections.

**H**AVING recorded the leading parliamentary transactions of 1793, the history of the first campaign, which England was engaged as a principal in the arm-confederacy against France, now demands our attention.

tion. In the faithful execution of this important task, a succession of such novel and astonishing scenes will present themselves, as are certainly unequalled in ancient or in modern times. Whether we regard the vast armies in motion—the activity and extent of their operations—or the number of human beings who tell the victims of war,—all are on a scale of magnitude awful and afflicting. Nor can the eventual result of the campaign appear less wonderful to the contemplative mind than the mighty range of great and unexampled events with which it was preceded. We see France convulsed by internal factions,—betrayed by treachery—pressed on all sides by the first military powers in the world,—braving dangers singularly perilous and formidable—surmounting every difficulty—and overpowering all opposition by the ardor and enthusiasm of liberty. In the history of this campaign will be seen, by striking examples, the imbecility of arms,—the folly of military tactics—the weakness of treachery—and even the inefficacy of gold when employed to impose slavery on a people tremblingly alive to freedom. Ambition may supply pretexts for grasping power,—seizing territory,—and subjugating nations; but experience has now taught us that despotism will struggle in vain to conquer a people determined to be free.

II. The brilliant and rapid success of the French army had, by the latter end of 1792, extended the dominion of the republic from the Alps to the Rhine, from Geneva to the mouth of the Scheld. The victory of Jemappes secured the conquest of Brabant and Flanders, and in the course of the winter general Dumourier proposed to the executive council to take possession of Maestricht, without which he alledged he could neither defend the Meuse, nor the territory of Liege. He purposed to take and hold the place without entering into further hostilities with the Dutch, and engaging, by manifesto, to restore it at the end of the war. The executive council, much to their honor, declined the proposal, and expressly commanded the general to preserve the strictest neutrality

forward

towards the united provinces. This circumstance affords an additional and unequivocal proof that the French had no intention to provoke hostilities with England or her allies, before the unfortunate dispute with the British ministry, the particulars of which have been already detailed.

III. Hostilities, however, being actually commenced, the possession of Holland became an object of the utmost moment to the French, as it would be followed by advantages decisive of the war in their favor. Had Dumourier continued faithful, there is no doubt but that the project would have been attended with complete success: but, on the other hand, it is more than probable, that if certain arrangements had not been previously made with this celebrated commander, Great Britain and Holland would not have been so precipitate in entering into the dispute. Thus, it appears, that both parties were deceived in the commencement of the war. The French flattered themselves with the immediate conquest of Holland, while the allies, depending on the treachery of Dumourier, were looking forward with confidence to no other object than the immediate subjugation of France. Circumstanced as Dumourier was at this period, it is difficult to ascertain what was his plan of the campaign. He has himself intimated, that it was long his fixed intention to effect an escape into some other country; and, with such a design predominant in his mind, it is not to be supposed that he would be very earnest in promoting the success of his expedition. The general in his memoirs has stated two plans; the first of which was proposed by the refugee Hollanders who had formed a small revolutionary committee at Antwerp, and who recommended an irruption into Zealand: the other was a plan suggested by himself, and which he really meant to pursue, while he appeared to favor that of the Batavian committee; and this was, to advance with a body of troops stationed at Mordyck, and masking Breda and Gertruydenburg on the right, and Bergen-ap-Zoom, Steenberg, Middelburg, and Williamstadt on the left, to effect a passage

sage over an arm of the sea to Dort, and thus penetrate at once into the heart of Holland.

IV. In the mean time general Miranda was ordered to advance with a part of his army before Maestricht, but was instructed by Dumourier not to attempt a regular siege at so unfavourable a season, but to assault the place with bombs and red hot balls; and, after receiving intelligence that the commander in chief passed Mordyck to leave the continuance of the siege to general Valence who was expected from Paris, and march with the utmost expedition to Nimeguen, and in passing the Duchy of Cleves, to intercept the Prussians, should they have anticipated his arrival there. Venlo was at the same time to be attacked by general Champmorin, an experienced engineer. Maestricht was invested early in February, by general Miranda, with 12,000 men on the banks of the Meuse, and 6,000 on the right; and by the twenty third of that month the works were all completed. On the following day the French general summoned the Prince of Hesse, who commanded there, but his answer was a direct refusal to capitulate. The French then commenced a heavy fire from their batteries, and, according to the account of the general, the town was on fire in several places. While the French were constructing their works, the garrison made two sallies but with little success.

V. In the mean time general Dumourier assembled his army in the vicinity of Antwerp. Previous to his entering the Dutch territories, he published a manifesto addressed to the Batavians, as he thought proper to term them, exhorting them, in extravagant terms, to emancipate themselves at once from the tyrannical yoke of the Stadtholder. The French army under Dumourier consisted of twenty one battalions, only two of which however were troops of the line; he estimates them himself at about 13,700 men, including cavalry and light troops. This army entered the Dutch territories on the seventeenth of February, but it was the twenty second before the general was enabled to proceed from Antwerp to



1793. His first movement was to block up Breda, by means of his right division under general D'Arcon; and colonel Le Clerc, with the left, was ordered at the same time to block up Bergen-ap-Zoom. The governors of those places abandoned all their outworks; and Breda, at the time of its attack, was in a state of inundation. On the twenty third of February count Byland, the governor of Breda, was summoned to surrender; and on his refusal, general D'Arcon, without opening the trenches, mounted two batteries, with four mortars and four howitzers, very near the town, on the side of the village of Hage. The bombardment continued for some hours, but ceased at night. On the succeeding day the French renewed the attack with great spirit; and one of Dumourier's aides-du-camp being dispatched to renew the summons, with assurances that the general was preparing to bring up his whole force, the governor was terrified into a capitulation. The garrison was allowed the honors of war, and only twenty men were lost on both sides. The fort of Klundert was taken by Dumourier on the twenty sixth. It was defended with great valor by lieutenant-colonel Westphalian; but his garrison amounted to only 150 men. Dumourier next dispatched general Berneron to the attack of Williamstadt, and general D'Arcon to Gertruydenberg, and on the fourth of March the latter place surrendered on capitulation. At this place ended the triumphs of Dumourier. The sieges of Williamstadt and Bergen-ap-Zoom were however vigorously pressed by general Berneron and LeClerc; and a commander in chief, by means of a number of craft which he produced at Gertruydenberg, was preparing for Mordyk a naval equipment to transport his little army to Dort. He was interrupted in his career, if we may credit his own account, by the unfortunate change which took place in the Netherlands; though it is highly probable that the whole failure was a preconcerted plan between the general and the combined powers.

VI. About this time two thousand British guards were sent over to Holland under the command of the duke of Orange.

of

of York; and a body of twelve thousand Hanoverians were ordered to march immediately to the same quarter to be also under his royal highness's command. To add to the embarrassments of France, Spain was now supposed ready to accede to the armed confederacy. After the melancholy death of Louis, it may well be supposed that the king of Spain could not be very friendly disposed towards the French nation; and, pressed by the combine powers, it is not improbable that he meditated hostilities. The convention, however, determined to anticipate his declaration, and on the seventh of March passed a decree of war against his most catholic majesty.

VII. Before reviewing the reverse of fortune which the French experienced in the Netherlands, it may be proper to advert to the disastrous expedition which was undertaken against Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. A French fleet under the command of Admiral Truguet which had sailed from Toulon, anchored before the town, and commenced a vigorous cannonade against it on the twenty-fourth of January; but as all the transports with the land forces were not arrived, the admiral ordered the firing to cease on the twenty-ninth. The camp volunteers, however, being impatient to land, after using every argument to convince them of the extreme danger of making such an attempt without a sufficient force, M. Truguet at length consented, and gave orders for their landing on the fourteenth of February. Forty ships and two bomb-ketches were posted before the town, and nearly the same force was placed between the town and a small mountain defended by batteries: another came to anchor before the town to batter it, and the ships and three frigates were employed in covering the landing of the troops. Of all these ships, the *Thémis* alone did execution; but she was set on fire by a red-hot-ball, and the captain was wounded in the head and died four days after. In the night the *Thémis* was obliged to retire. The *Patriot*, which kept up a continual fire for three days and three nights, expended all her ammunition, and had eight men wounded, the

of them in a dangerous manner. The Juno frigate had been wounded. The descent was effected under the command of general Casa Bianca, with fifteen hundred troops of the line, and three thousand national volunteers; another descent was to be made at some distance, and a certain signal was agreed on. This signal was observed in the island, and the troops heard the following words pronounced through a speaking trumpet:—*Citizens, come on shore—we have put to flight the enemy.* The troops, however, suspected the delusion, having observed with their glasses, that the invitation came from persons in the Sardinian uniform. The second descent therefore was countermanded. Casa Bianca, however, formed a camp at the distance of a league from the town, with fifteen pieces of cannon and some mortars; but the troops were seized with an instantaneous panic, they mistook the word of command, and the patrols fired upon each other; the soldiers imagining themselves too weak in number, requested to be re-embarked, and some of them without orders began to retire towards the shore. In this disagreeable situation, the general was compelled to re-embark his troops, and it was with great difficulty that he was able even to save his cannon. When the troops returned on board, Truguet immediately set sail. The Leopard, a ship of the line, ran on shore, but the crew were saved. A tartan, which ran on shore also, was burnt by the Sardinians.

VIII. This failure of the attack upon Sardinia was a trivial misfortune, in comparison with the hasty retreat and final defection of general Dumourier in the Netherlands. At this period the French armies were in a reduced and impoverished state; partly from the return of the volunteers and national guards, but chiefly from the neglect of the French ministers. As they were, however, still numerous, general Miranda continued to besiege the siege of Maestricht with a considerable force; while general La Noue, with the covering army, was encamped at Herve. The head quarters of general Valence were at Liege, while his out-posts extended to Aix-la-

Chapelle and the banks of the Roer. On the first of March, general Clairfait having passed the Roer in the night, attacked the French posts as well on the side of Durn as on that of Juliers, and compelled them to retreat as far as Alderhaven, with the loss of two thousand men, twelve pieces of cannon, thirty ammunition waggons, and the military chest. The following day the Archduke attacked several French batteries, and took nine pieces of cannon. On the third, the prince of Saxe Cobourg obtained a signal victory over the French, and drove them from Aix-la-Chapelle even to the vicinity of Liege, with the loss of four thousand killed, one thousand and six hundred prisoners, and twenty pieces of cannon. In subservience probably to the treacherous views of the commander in chief, the French force, at this period was too much divided to make an effectual resistance; and, in addition to this disadvantage, the officers appeared to have had very bad intelligence of the motions of the enemy.

IX. The defeat of the third, was the signal for raising the siege of Maestricht. On the fourth, general Miranda learned, that the enemy was advancing with more than thirty-five thousand men towards Wick, with the evident intention of throwing succours into Maestricht. The general, therefore, had scarcely time to withdraw the body of three thousand men, which were posted there under the command of general Leveneur, before they were attacked by the advanced guard of the enemy. The bombardment was however continued in the usual manner, and Maestricht suffered considerably from the conflagration. At twelve o'clock at night Miranda gave orders for a general retreat, having before him all the artillery, which happily arrived at Tongres, being covered with a rear guard of four thousand men, whom the enemy was unable to discompo. On the succeeding day the French were again attacked at Tongres, and forced to retreat to Hans and St. Tron, where Miranda and Valence formed a conjunction; the latter having evacuated Liege, and abandoned it to the enemy. The

were also joined by the troops under generals Isler, Lamorriere, and Champmorin; and after remaining there till the 8th, to refresh, and having repulsed the advanced guard of the enemy, who attempted to dislodge them, they moved on that day towards Tirlemont. In this critical situation of affairs, Dumourier ought to have abandoned his enterprise against Holland, and moved with his whole force to the support of the flying generals. On the contrary, he left his army under the command of general De Flers, "whom (he says) he knew to be incapable of discharging the trust," with orders to take up his quarters at Dort. The army in Holland was totally dispirited by the departure of the general; the Dutch navy in the mean time was re-inforced, and the Prussians advanced by the way of Bois-le-duc. Instead of proceeding to Dort, De Flers was compelled to throw himself into Breda, with six battalions and two hundred cavalry, and the rest of the army retired to Antwerp. The dissatisfaction expressed by the army in Liege on being re-joined by their former victorious commander is scarcely to be described; order and confidence seemed to be at once established, and the hopes of the soldiers anticipated a renewal of the glories of Jemappe. The strength and vigor however of the French army were gone, and their commander was no longer the same Dumourier who had triumphantly over-run the Netherlands in the preceding year.

X. On the fifteenth of March the Austrians attacked Tirlemont, in which the French had only four hundred men, and which they carried after an obstinate resistance, the town being large and incapable of defence. On the following day, however, they were again driven by Dumourier from that place, and compelled to retreat to St. Tron. On the eighteenth a general engagement took place near Neerwinden; the French army being covered on the left by Dormael, and on the right by Landen. The action continued with great obstinacy on both sides, from seven in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Austrian cavalry



coming up, put them entirely to flight. The lots in each army was great. The French displayed considerable courage and address, but were overpowered by numbers, and perhaps by the treachery of their own commanders, and by the superior skill and discipline of their enemies. Dumourier himself, in a letter to general Duval, says of this battle, that he attacked the enemy in the famous plains of Neerwinden, and fought the whole day with his right wing and centre. The left wing (which was commanded by general Miranda) he asserts, not only fought ill, but abandoned him and fled beyond Tirlemont. In his memoirs, Dumourier charges general La Marche with having committed the first error of the day. He entered the plain of Landen, according to his instructions; but finding no enemy there, he made a movement to the left, to fall upon the village of Oberwende, and thence was thrown into confusion by the second column. General Valence, who commanded the French cavalry, was wounded, and obliged to retire to Tirlemont, but they were still victorious over the Austrian horse. He repeats the charge against Miranda having retreated while his troops were quite fresh, and attributes this defection to a jealousy of general Valence. Miranda, however, in a confidential letter to Petion dated the twenty-first of March, very directly intimates his suspicion of treachery in the commander in chief. He says that Dumourier, who had before never failed to consult him upon every occasion, did not even mention the arrangements for the battle of Neerwinden to him. "At eleven at night," says he, "my orders were delivered in writing, and I learnt in a conversation with him that we were to offer battle to an enemy fifty-one thousand strong, very advantageously posted, and a formidable artillery, with a force inferior to theirs, and with every disadvantage of situation and encampment—all this was to be effected without having previously reconnoitred the ground, or the particular position of the enemy. Miranda proceeds to assert, that he made a vigorous attack in five different columns, three of which were led

by himself; and that at last his troops, after fighting considerable time with various success, were obliged to give way to superior force: and that they did not abandon the field in a cowardly manner, the loss which this division suffered may be cited as a proof, since it amounted to no less than two thousand in killed and wounded. The whole of the loss Dumourier states at more than three thousand; and that of the imperialists at one thousand four hundred. The French also lost a great part of their cannon.

XI. The battle of Neerwinden was fatal to the French; for, besides the loss just stated, the general observes that upwards of six thousand men immediately deserted, and proceeded towards Brussels and France. The retreat of the French was, however, made in good order, and they continued skirmishing till they reached Gottenhove, which is about one league south of Tirlemont. Here the French formed in order of battle, and the two armies rested the whole night upon their arms. On the nineteenth but little was done, and on the night of the twentieth, Dumourier took possession of the heights of Cumtich, behind Tirlemont, from which place he had come to withdraw his magazines. As Dumourier, however, if we may trust his own account, clearly perceived that he could not long maintain himself in this position, and that it afforded no protection either to Louvain or Brussels, he availed himself of the twentieth, while the Austrians remained before Tirlemont, to pass the Welpe and encamp near Bantersem, having his right to Op and Geerwelve, and his left on the heights, and in the woods in front of Zwellenberg. Here we was attacked by the advanced guard of the enemy, who were however repulsed. While Dumourier was engaged in repelling this assault, Danton and La Croix arrived in the camp, as commissioners from the convention; and after receiving some explanations from him relative to the letter which he had written to the convention, on the affairs of Belgium, they returned.

XII. On the twenty-first Dumourier judged it proper to

to take post nearer Louvain, and on the following day he was attacked by the enemy. The action was bloody, and lasted the whole day; but the imperialists were compelled to retreat with great loss. On the evening preceding this action, Dumourier sent colonel Montjoye to the head quarters of the prince of Cobourg, to treat respecting the wounded and the prisoners. "He there, says Dumourier, saw colonel Mack, an officer of uncommon merit, who observed to colonel Montjoye, that it might be equally advantageous to both parties to agree to a suspension of arms." Dumourier, who had deeply considered the situation of his army, sent Montjoye again to colonel Mack on the twenty-second, to demand if he would come to Louvain, and make the same proposition to Dumourier. Colonel Mack came in the evening. The following articles were verbally agreed to: first, That the imperialists should not again attack the French army in great force, nor Dumourier again offer battle to the imperialists. Secondly, That on the faith of this tacit armistice, the French should retire to Brussels slowly, and in good order, without any opposition from the enemy. And lastly, That Dumourier and colonel Mack should have another interview after the evacuation of Brussels, in order to settle further articles that might then be mutually deemed necessary. Either distrustful of Dumourier, however, or from other motives the imperialists, under general Clairfait, attacked an advanced guard of the French, posted at Pillenberk; in consequence of which, the latter were obliged to abandon Louvain, and Dumourier transported his wounded and the flour for his army, in boats to Mechlin. The French army effected their retreat towards Brussels in the night; otherwise Dumourier himself states, to the honor of his new allies, "that notwithstanding the verbal stipulations agreed to by colonel Mack, they would probably have seized upon this opportunity to destroy, or entirely disperse, the French army." Dumourier, appears, continued faithfully to observe, on his part, the terms of the agreement; and he also allows that the prince

prince of Cobourg so far adhered to them, that he remained three days at Louvain, sending only small detachments to hang on the rear guard of the French. On the twenty-fifth Dumourier and his army passed through Brussels. The citadel of Antwerp was the only fortified place that he was able to keep, which he garrisoned with two thousand men, and six months provisions, in order to preserve a communication with the troops which had been left at Breda and Gertruydenberg. His design, he says, was to have formed a strong line without the territory of France, to the left by Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtray, Antwerp, Breda, and Gertruydenberg, till he could recruit his forces; but the line in one part was broken by the necessary evacuation of Namur.

XIII. On the twenty-seventh Dumourier arrived at Ath, where he received orders from the convention to arrest the colonel of the seventy-third regiment of infantry and general Miranda. On the same day colonel Mack arrived at Ath. A further agreement was then entered into between that officer and Dumourier, the terms of which were—"that the French army should remain some time longer in the possession of Mons, Tournay, and Courtray, without being harassed by the imperial army; that Dumourier, who *did not conceal from colonel Mack his design of marching against Paris*, should, when their designs were ripe for execution, regulate the motions of the imperialists, who should only act as auxiliaries in the accomplishment of their plan; that in the case of Dumourier's having no need of assistance, which was greatly to be desired by both parties, the imperialists should not advance farther than the frontier of France, and that the total evacuation of Belgium should be the price of this ascension; but if Dumourier could not effect the establishment of a limited monarchy (not a counter revolution) he himself should indicate the number and the kind of troops which the imperialists should furnish, to aid in the project, and which would be entirely under Dumourier's direction. Dumourier made colonel Mack acquainted with his design of marching the following day

day to Tournay, with the march of general Neuilly to Mons, and of the army of Holland to Courtray. It was finally decided, that in order to combine the operations of the imperial troops under the prince of Cobourg, and those under the prince of Hohenloe, at the time when Dumourier should march to Paris, Condé should be put into the hands of the Austrians as a pledge; that the Austrians should garrison the town, but without any pretensions to the sovereignty; and on the condition that it should be restored to France at the conclusion of the war; and after an indemnity should have been settled between the two parties; but that all the other towns belonging to France should, in the case of the constitutional party needing the assistance of the imperialists, receive garrisons, one half of which should be French troops, and the other half imperialists, under the orders of the French. General Valence, general Thouvenot, the duke de Chartres, and colonel Montjoye, assisted at this conference."

XIV. Dumourier arrived on the twenty eight at Tournay, and here he learned that general Neuilly's division had abandoned Mons, and thrown themselves into Condé and Valenciennes. Here he found madame Sillery and madame d'Orleans, whom he says he had never till then seen. The designs of Dumourier did not, however, pass unsuspected at Paris: three commissioners from the executive power had therefore been dispatched under pretence of conferring with the general concerning the affairs of Belgium, but really with a view of sounding his intentions. They found him at Tournay in company with madame Sillery, young Egalité, and Valence, and surrounded with deputations from the district of Cambray. The interview was violent. Dumourier expressed himself in terms of invective against the Jacobins. "They will ruin France," said he; "but I will save it, though they should call me a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Monk." The commissioners carried the conversation no farther. They departed and returned next day, determined to dissemble, in order the better to discover the



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tent of his views. Dumourier now became more explicit. He said, that the convention were a herd of ruffians, whom he held in abhorrence—that the volunteers were poltroons; but that all their efforts would be vain. “As for the rest,” added he, “there still remains a party. If the queen and her children are threatened, I will march to Paris—it is my fixed intention—and the convention will not exist three months longer.” The commissioners asked him by what means he would replace the convention? His answer was, “The means are already formed.” They asked him whether he did not wish to have the last constitution? He replied, “that it was a foolish one; he expected a better from Condorcet: the first constitution, receiving its imperfections was preferable. When they asked him whether he wished to have a king? He replied—“We must have one.” He also told them, that he was employed to make peace for France; that he had already entered into a negotiation with the prince of Cobourg for an exchange of prisoners, and for the purpose of withdrawing from Holland those eighteen battalions which were on the point of being cut off. When they informed him, that those negotiations with Cobourg, and the peace which he wished to procure for France, would not change republicans into royalists, he repeated the assertion that he would be in Paris in three weeks; and observed, that since the battle of Jemappe he had wept over his success in so bad a cause. Dubuissson, one of the commissioners, then proposed to communicate to him the plan of a counter-revolution: but he said that his own was better; that he would make the conquest of Belgium for himself, which he would rule under the protection of the house of Austria.

XV. The conversation of Dumourier with the commissioners was no sooner made public in Paris, than the suspicions of those who entertained apprehensions of his treachery were converted into certainty. The general himself had been previously ordered to the bar of the convention; he was superseded by Bournonville, the minister of war; and four commissioners were sent to the army

army of the north, with powers to suspend and arrest all generals and military officers whom they should suspect, and bring them to the bar. As the commissioners wished to proceed with caution, they halted at Lille; and dispatched a summons to Dumourier to appear in that city, and answer the charges against him. He had, however, already arranged his plan—the Rubicon was passed—and he returned only for answer, that he could not leave the army for a moment, while the enemy was cutting him off from every retreat—that he would only enter Lille to purge it of those traitors who infested it—and that he valued his head too much to submit it to an arbitrary tribunal. On the twenty ninth of March, Dumourier learned that Antwerp had been abandoned by the troops which he had stationed there; and that they had effected their retreat to the territories of France. On the following day, he resolved to raise the camp at Tournay, and occupy that of Maulde. In the mean time he sent orders through the medium of colonel Mack, to the garrisons of Breda and Gertruydenberg to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to march back to France. He also ordered general Miacziuski, who was at Orchies, to march with his division to Lille, and arrest the commissioners of the convention; but that general, imprudently divulging the object of his mission, no sooner entered the city than the gates were shut upon him; he was sent to Paris and brought to the scaffold. By the patriotism of generals Ferrand and Ecuyer, Dumourier was also frustrated in an attempt to render himself master of Combray and Valenciennes. To arrest an able general at the head of his army was indeed a bold and daring measure. The commissioners, however, resolved to hazard the attempt, and accordingly on the first of April proceeded to Amand, the head quarters of Dumourier; and, being admitted into his presence, explained to him the object of their mission. After a conference of some hours, the general, not finding that he could persuade them to favor his intentions, gave the signal for a body of soldiers who were in waiting, and ordered the minister of war

Bourbonville

Bournonville (who was sent to supersede him) and the commissioners, Camus, Blancal, La Marque, and Quinette, immediately to be conveyed to general Clairfait's head quarters at Tournay, as hostages for the safety of the royal family. Dumourier notwithstanding his splendid talents, appears, however, to be grossly mistaken with the disposition of his army. They might be disposed to resent the affront which was offered to their general, in ordering him to appear as a criminal at Paris; but when he came to propose to them the restoration of royalty in the person of the prince, and to turn their arms against their country, the prejudices or patriotism of Frenchmen assumed their wonted influence, and they felt it their duty to disobey. Dumourier lost no time in dispatching a messenger, to acquaint colonel Mack with the arrest of the commissioners, and to appoint the time and place for conference to conclude the terms of their treaty. During the night he composed a manifesto addressed to the army, which he digested and put in order the following day.

XVI. On the morning of the third, Dumourier went to the camp, and addressed the troops, who, he says, appeared to approve his conduct. He then proceeded to St. Amand, in which place was the train of artillery, who also expressed their satisfaction. At St. Amand he thought it prudent to sleep, for the purpose of marking his confidence in the troops there.—The whole of the third, he says, passed with as much success as he could expect, except that slight murmurs were heard among some etae battalions of the volunteers. Early on the fourth he left general Thouvenot at St. Amand, and departed himself for Condé; but he had not approached that fortress within half a league, before he was met by an officer dispatched by general Neuilly to inform him that thearrison was in the greatest fermentation, and that it would not be safe for him to enter the place. He sent back the officer with an order to Neuilly, to send the nineteenth regiment of cavalry to escort him. He had just fore overtaken a column of volunteers marching towards

wards Condé, who, however, did not then attempt to molest him. While they were yet in sight it was that general Neuilly's messenger arrived; and he had scarcely delivered his message to the officer, when the head of the column quitted the high road, and ran towards him with shouts and menaces, and an universal exclamation of "Stop, stop." Dumourier now perceiving himself in the most imminent danger, mounted a horse belonging to a domestic of the duke de Chartres, and escaped through a dreadful discharge of musketry, which the whole column poured upon him and his associates. Finding it impossible to gain the camp of Maulde, he proceeded along the Scheld, and passed the ferry near the village of Wickers, on the imperial territory. From this place, he continued his route on foot to Bury, where in the evening he met colonel Mack, and passed the night in digesting the proclamation of the prince of Cobourg, which appeared on the fifth with that of general Dumourier. It was also agreed, at this conference, that as soon as the general should be master of Condé, he should deliver it to the Austrians to serve as a magazine and place of arms, in case of aid being demanded by Dumourier.

XVII. The proclamation of Dumourier contained a recapitulation of his services to the French republic; a statement of the cruel neglect which his army had experienced in the preceding winter, and of the outrages practised by the Jacobins towards the generals of the republic, and particularly towards himself; the reasons which induced him to arrest the commissioners; and a glowing picture of the evils to be apprehended from the continuance of anarchy in France. It concluded with an exhortation to the French, to restore the constitution of 1789, 1790, and 1791; and a declaration on oath that he bore arms only for the restoration of that constitution; and that as soon as he had effected that purpose, he would for ever abandon every public function, and in solitude console himself with having contributed to the happiness of his fellow-citizens. The manifesto

of the prince of Cobourg, which accompanied the preceding, reflected great honor on that general; and it can never be sufficiently regretted that the terms which it held forth were ever departed from by the allied powers. It passed high encomiums on the disinterested and patriotic views of general Dumourier. It announced that the allied powers were no longer to be considered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries in the war; that they had no other object than to co-operate with general Dumourier in giving to France her constitutional king, and *the constitution she formed for herself*. On his word of honor he pledged himself, that he would not come upon the French territory to make conquests, but solely for the ends above specified. The prince declared further, that any strong places which should be put into his hands should be considered as sacred deposits, to be delivered up as soon as the constitutional government should be established in France, or as soon as general Dumourier should demand them.

XVIII. On the fifth of April, at day-break, Dumourier proceeded with an escort of fifty Imperial dragoons to the advanced guard of his camp at Maulde. He harangued his troops; but though there was no open opposition, he observed some indications of that spirit, and several factious groups assembled in different parts. His next design was to go to St. Amand; but as he was entering the city, he was met by an aid-de-camp, who informed him that during the night the corps of artillery, excited by some emissaries from Valenciennes, had risen upon their general and were marching to that fortress. The money, however, and the equipage of the officers, which remained in the city without a guard, he commanded to be conducted to Rumegies. The desertion of the corps of artillery was the signal for a general revolt. General Lamorriere, on whom Dumourier placed some dependance, immediately took his departure for Valenciennes. Dumourier was himself at Rumegies when he heard of the defection of the troops in camp. Nothing was now left but to provide for his personal safety.



safety. He mounted his horse, attended by general and colonel Thouvenot, the duke of Chartres, colonel Montjoye, and a few others of his staff. He was followed in the course of the day by about seven hundred horse and eight hundred infantry; these were the whole that could be prevailed on by the utmost solicitations of their officers to desert to the enemy, and of these several afterwards returned. The military chest which Dumourier had removed was recovered by a party of French chafseurs, and brought to Valenciennes. At Bury, Dumourier found colonel Mack, and proceeded with him to Mons. It was agreed that the Imperialists should immediately lay siege to Condé. The rank of feldzeugmeister (general of artillery) was conferred on Dumourier; but the suspicions of the allies have never permitted him to enjoy it in any active capacity:—and he now exists, abandoned and despised by the world, an awful lesson to all men who forsake the steady path of integrity, and treacherously betray their trust.

XIX. The little success attending this transaction should have taught the combined powers the impossibility of conquering France; and the little dependance to be placed on the vain hopes with which they had deluded themselves respecting the co-operation of the French people in effecting a counter-revolution. They had seen a whole army who had been manifestly attached to their general, under whom they had conquered and bled, refuse to obey that general when he proposed to them to take arms against their country, though under the specious pretext of restoring a constitution of which it was probable many of them approved. That general too was a man of transcendent abilities. He certainly had not been well treated by the ministers and the convention; and his case had in the commencement undoubtedly interested the army in his behalf. He was supported in these measures by officers whom the soldiers could not but love and respect; and yet the attachment to the cause of liberty and their country rose in their minds superior to every other passion. Could any reasonable

man expect success after such an instance as this? But what is begun in folly has seldom been known to terminate in wisdom; and those who indulge at first in intemperate and imprudent counsels, are rarely instructed by subsequent events. Had the combined powers made a prudent use of this opportunity—had they offered reasonable terms at this crisis to the French—had they extended the olive branch and said to them—“Model your internal government as you please, but establish once more the ancient boundary of the Netherlands—restore your other conquests—act with liberality, and set free the queen and royal family—do justice to the unfortunate emigrants—and allow them at least a portion of their property—and we will withdraw our forces.” Had they addressed the nation in these terms, there can hardly be a doubt but a stop would have been put to the effusion of blood, and France might soon have had a regular and established government. But the wise only can make a proper use of prosperity.

XX. A congress of the representatives of the combined powers was assembled at Antwerp on the eighth of April. At this congress were present the prince of Orange and his two sons, and his excellency Vander Spieghel; the duke of York and lord Auckland on the part of Great Britain; the prince of Saxe Cobourg, counts Metternick, Staremburg, and Mercy Dargenteau; with the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan envoys. Dumourier requested permission to attend, but was peremptorily refused that honor. On the decision of this assembly the peace of Europe and the fate of nations depended. The particulars of what passed on this important occasion have never yet fully transpired. It is, however, well known, that a plan of active operations against France was resolved on. The prince of Cobourg immediately unsaid all that he had set forth under the pledge of his honor with so much solemnity on the fifth; and a scheme of conquest was formally announced in a new proclamation, issued by himself on the ninth of the same month. It was obvious that this step could have no other tendency than to de-

stroy all confidence in the professions of the allied powers. It induced the French to believe that the whole of the proclamation of the fifth was a mere delusion, only intended to impose on their credulity.

XXI. The situation of France was at this period singularly critical and dangerous. By the defection of Dumourier the whole army of the north was dissolved, and in part disbanded; while that of the allies lay upon the frontier, numerous, well disciplined and victorious. On the side of the Rhine the Prussians advanced in immense force, and threatened the siege of Mentz, even before the works for its defence were completed. But however formidable the attack from without might appear, it was perhaps less to be dreaded than those alarming internal commotions which took place at the same time. To effect completely the subversion of the republican government in France, it was a part of the great plan to excite by bold and instantaneous effort the royalist party, who lay concealed in different parts of the country, but chiefly in the adjacent provinces of Brittany and Poitou, now distinguished by the names of La Vendée and La Loire. Notwithstanding the severe decrees of the convention immense numbers of the emigrants had secretly resorted thither in the winter of 1792, as the vicinity of these departments to the sea afforded a fair prospect of fresh supplies of men and military stores, as well as of the co-operation of the naval powers. It appeared like a concerted plan, that this insurrection should break out at the most at the instant of Dumourier's defection; as if two such tremendous explosions the new republic was once to be overwhelmed in ruin. The first disturbances were considered by the convention as merely the result of a repugnance in the people to the modes which had been adopted for recruiting the army; but before the late end of March, the insurgents assumed a more formidable appearance as to numbers, and their proceedings evinced the rebellion to be the result of previous arrangements. They were distinguished by white caps, and by other counter-revolutionary ensigns, and their watch words

were *vive le roi*, and *vivent les Anglois* ! They professed to act by the authority of monsieur, the regent of France, and in several rencounters with the national guards were victorious, particularly in an action which took place near Chantanay, which was immediately succeeded by the plunder of that city. On the twenty third of March the convention were informed that the insurgents had made themselves masters of the districts of Cholet, Montaigne and Clisson, and that they had defeated general Marce, who had been sent to quell them. The city of Nantes was at the same time in a state of siege, and the number of royalists encamped before that city were estimated at not less than 40,000. In the beginning of April general Berruyer was appointed to command against the royalists. Notwithstanding the efforts of the convention, however, before the end of that month they possessed themselves of an extent of fifty leagues of country, and had defeated the republicans in two pitched battles, in which they took an immense quantity of artillery and military stores, and a number of prisoners.

XXII. The commissioners, in the meantime, who had been sent to the army, omitted no means of restoring order and invigorating the spirit of the French army. The standard of the republic was no sooner set up, than the battalions which had dispersed from the camp of Maulde resorted to it; and general Dampierre, who had evinced his patriotism by his resistance to the orders of Dumourier, was provisionally appointed by the commissioners to the chief command. In less than a week general Dampierre had restored order and discipline to their disorganized troops, and was enabled to lead them to action, if not to victory. On the thirteenth of April the advanced posts of the French army under that general were attacked in six different points, but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. General Dampierre at the same time was enabled to resume the camp of Famars. On the fourteenth and fifteenth the advanced guard was again assailed by the enemy: on the former of those days, they were compelled by superior numbers to give way, but

but on the succeeding day they were victorious. The firing continued from four in the morning till eight in the evening, with as much violence as at the battle of Neerwindon. On the twenty third the Austrians again attacked the French near Maubeuge, but after a conflict of ten hours were repulsed with considerable loss and on the first of May general Dampierre attempted to dislodge the enemy from several villages of which they were in possession, but in his turn experienced a repulse. On this occasion the Austrians had 600 killed and 2000 wounded, and the French had 300 killed and 600 wounded. An action of a more serious nature took place on the eighth of May. General Dampierre on that day advanced to dislodge the enemy who were posted in the wood of Rheme and Vicoigne; but the ardor of the general having prompted him to too great an exposure of his person, his thigh was carried off by a cannon ball and he expired the next day, leaving the command in the hands of general Lamarche. In this action the Austrians lost in killed and wounded 500 men, and the Prussians 300: of the English troops, who were engaged, and who suffered greatly, no official return was made. The loss of the French was estimated at 4000. From this period to the twenty third little of importance occurred. On that day it was determined by the allies to attempt to dislodge the French from their fortified camp on the heights of Famars, which covered and protected the town of Valenciennes. At day break the British and Hanoverians assembled under the command of the duke of York, and the Austrian and German auxiliaries under that of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait. A thick fog prevented for some time the advance of the troops; and they soon experienced a tremendous fire from the entrenchments of the French. The contest, as James Murray states, was of the severest kind, and in the field the French were defeated. The duke of York then advanced within a small distance of the works; but observing from the disposition of the French that they could not be carried without considerable loss, he deter-



mined to defer the attack till day-break on the following day. In the course of the night, however, the French, apprehensive of the consequences, and probably much weakened by the action, abandoned their camp, and withdrew partly into Valenciennes, while another party retired to Denain, towards Bouchain and Cambray. No official return was made of the loss of the allies; but on both sides it must have been very considerable. The success on the twenty-third enabled the allies to lay formal siege to Valenciennes. Condé had been invested from the beginning of April, and the communication entirely cut off between that place and Valenciennes. To re-establish that communication was the object of general Camille on the eighth of May, when he received the mortal wound of which he died.

XXIII. While these affairs were transacting in the north, but little of importance occurred in other parts. In the beginning of May general Custine, who commanded the army of the Rhine, formed a design of cutting off from the enemy a body of seven or eight thousand men who had advanced as far as Rein Zabern; but, to succeed, it was necessary to amuse the Prussians on all parts, and to destroy the effect of the cavalry and infantry which they had near Landau. Had he been to retain the command of this army, he said he should have deferred that enterprise till the commencement of June, and then the army, better exercised, would have been in condition to execute it completely; but reflecting that he was about to depart and take upon him the command of the army of the north, he determined to attempt an action, to prevent the Prussians from taking advantage of their excellent position. He therefore sent orders to general Houchard to attack in the rear Lemberg and Strilberg with the army of the Moselle, while Pulli should keep in check, and attack with the rest of the corps des Vasaiges, a Prussian corps who had advanced, while general Sulek, with nine battalions and some cavalry, should advance towards Anweiler to molest the army. The same day the garrison of Landau had orders

ders to occupy the banks of the canal of Anweiler, the vineyards and village of Nusderf, with several other posts, and to give the Prussians reason to apprehend that they would be attacked in the rear, in case they should attempt any movements. He also caused a report to be spread in the Prussian army, that the cavalry of the army of the Moselle had arrived, as well as part of the artillery of Strasburg. In the mean time general Ferrier, who commanded forty battalions, was ordered only to show himself to the enemy till he should hear that the engagement had commenced, and to attack them in the woods of Rheinzabern, and the Austrians who were in it beyond the village. Notwithstanding these orders, Custine observes, that he did not see his troops appear till eleven o'clock, at which time general Diretmann had commanded a retreat, because the troops were fatigued, and could neither procure provisions nor drink. The general himself began to march at eight o'clock in the evening, with twenty-six battalions and eight regiments, to the heights near Insheim; but several unavoidable delays prevented him from arriving at that place till five in the morning. The advanced guard, under the command of general Landremont, kept back the enemy, and prevented them from quitting the forest of Gemersheim. While general Landremont was thus engaging the Austrian army, and preventing them from advancing, the main army extended itself to the heights of Rulthe, and proceeded as far as that village. Custine charged two divisions of dragoons with vigor, who fled after sustaining considerable loss. Among the number of the dead were three officers. The general observed, that had it not been for the infatuation of a battalion, who mistook the French cavalry for that of the enemy, that day would have been glorious for the troops of the republic; they answered all attempts to rally them, only by discharges, and it was with great difficulty they could be prevailed upon to resume their ranks. The general was informed that this event was occasioned by a commander, who began the cry of treachery. He arrested

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gested, and afterwards destroyed himself. "This day  
which ought to have been so memorable," added Cus-  
tine, "terminated by the taking one piece of cannon,  
a very great number of prisoners." The Prussians  
were soon after enabled to form the siege of Mentz. At  
this fatal period, a degree of treachery seems to have  
served every part of the French territory. On the  
second of April the popular society of Toulon denounc-  
ed the Corsican general Paoli as a traitor, and his sub-  
sequent conduct has proved that the accusation was too  
well founded. Paoli was cited to appear at the bar of  
the convention, but excused himself; and the persons  
who were sent to arrest him declared that the service was  
too dangerous to be attempted.

XXIV. The evils that inevitably follow in the train  
of a great revolution, were felt throughout the whole  
of the French territories; but in no quarter more  
severely than in their West India islands. At the be-  
ginning of the year 1793, the island of Martinico was  
in a state of insurrection. The majority of the white  
inhabitants were determined royalists, while the negroes  
and people of colour were furious republicans. To the  
island of St. Domingo two commissioners were dispatch-  
ed while the Gironde party was in power, for the pur-  
pose of restoring peace and tranquillity. But these  
commissioners, Polverel and Santhonax, have rather ap-  
peared in the character of apostles of discord, than of  
peace. They united with the people of colour, and a  
series of assassinations, pillage, and imprison-  
ments ensued, which compelled the majority of the white  
inhabitants to seek shelter in America, or in the English  
West India islands. It is peculiarly painful to be oblig-  
ed to add, that numbers of these wretched exiles, in fly-  
ing from the tyranny of their own countrymen, were  
seized and plundered by British privateers. Polve-  
rel and Santhonax were impeached by a decree of the  
convention on the sixteenth of July. The island of  
St. Domingo was taken by a British squadron under the com-  
mand of Sir John Laforey, about the beginning of April;  
and,

and, encouraged by the disputes which existed between the royalists and republicans in Martinico, admiral Gardner attempted a descent upon that island also, and landed there with about 3000 men. The attempt, however, proved fatal only to the royalists, as he found, on his arrival, the republican party too strong, and was obliged to reembark his troops, even before he could convey away from certain destruction the whole of the devoted party, who had probably invited him to undertake the expedition.

XXV. In Europe the allied powers were chiefly employed, during the remainder of the campaign, in the blockade of Condé, Valenciennes, and Mentz. The town of Condé was invested (as has been already stated) early in April, by a large body of the allied forces, and the works were completed by the twenty-seventh. The town was, however, not provided with a sufficient quantity of provisions to sustain a long siege: the governor (general Chancel) therefore, about this period, ordered the women and children to quit the place; but the prince of Wirtemberg compelled them again to take refuge in the fortress. In a few days after this unsuccessful attempt, the governor sent them out a second time, but the Austrians, with a brutal barbarity that would disgrace the savage tribes, killed many of these defenceless creatures even in the very act of supplicating for mercy, and the governor, from motives of humanity, was obliged to receive the rest. From this period, the garrison appeared to have existed in a state of extreme distress till the first of June, their chief subsistence being horse-flesh. At that time they attempted to establish a redoubt upon the road from Condé to Locoque, in order to dislodge the Austrians from the latter place. After an obstinate resistance, they were however forced back into the town, and the work was demolished. From this to the first of July, nothing of importance occurred. On that day a negotiation was opened for a capitulation; but the governor conceived it necessary to dispatch a messenger to the convention, and another to general Custine, who at the

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time had assumed the command of the northern army; and the terms not proving acceptable, the negotiation was broken off. On the tenth of July the garrison, after enduring all the rigors of famine, were obliged to surrender as prisoners of war. They had originally amounted to 4000 men, but at the time of the capture were reduced to 1500 fit for service.

XXVI. The victory of Famars enabled the allied forces to invest closely the town of Valenciennes. On a summons being sent to general Ferrand, the governor, he returned a polite but spirited answer; and from the first commencement of the works, the besiegers experienced a heavy fire from the garrison. On the first of June general Custine arrived to take the command of the armies of the north and the Ardennes, then encamped at Bouchain; but he found himself unable to render any effectual relief to Valenciennes. Above 14,000 men of the besieging army were employed, for the greater part of the siege, in erecting works and re-paving the batteries. From the first to the fifth of June, a very brisk fire was kept up from the fortress; and on the latter of these days, the French attacked the advanced posts of the allies, but were repulsed. In the course of the siege a material difference of opinion existed between the English engineer, colonel Moncrief, and M. Ferraris, the chief engineer of the Emperor. The British officer was for planting batteries immediately under the walls of the city, instead of approaching it by regular parallels. M. Ferraris however contended that the work of the great sauban was not to be treated with so little respect, and his opinion was adopted by the council of war. On the morning of the fourteenth of June the trenches were opened. The British commander then summoned the garrison; but receiving an unsatisfactory answer, the artillery began to play upon the town with great vigor, and in the course of the night, above 500 red hot balls were poured in among the inhabitants. Towards the beginning of July the besiegers were able to bring 200 pieces of heavy artillery to play without intermission on

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the town, and the greater part of it was reduced to ashes. The smallness of the garrison, compared with the extent of the fortifications to be defended, prevented general Ferrand from attempting frequent sorties. In one which the garrison made on the fifth of July, however, they were very successful, and killed several of the enemy, and spiked some cannon. The most singular circumstance in the history of this siege is, that a considerable part of the war was carried on underground; mines and countermines innumerable having been formed both by the besiegers and besieged. The principal of these on the side of the former were one under the glacis, and one under the hornwork of the fortress; these mines were completed and charged on the twenty-fifth of July, and in the night between nine and ten o'clock were sprung with the greatest success. The English and Austrians immediately seized the opportunity to throw themselves into the covered way, of which they made themselves masters. The die was now cast, and on the twenty-sixth the duke of York again summoned the place, which surrendered on capitulation the following day. The duke of York took possession of it in behalf of the emperor of Germany.

XXVII. During the whole of the siege general Clinton was not able to make any attempt of moment for the relief of the place, and a few skirmishes only took place between the out-posts. In the duchy of Luxembourg an action of a more serious nature occurred on the ninth of June. The French, under general Laage, attacked the Austrians under general Schroeder, near Aillon, and obliged the latter to retreat with great loss. Luxembourg. The eminence on which the Austrians were encamped was guarded by thirty pieces of cannon arranged on batteries in the form of steps, and defended by eight thousand men. These the French successively attacked and carried with incredible intrepidity. The king of Prussia had been from the beginning of April engaged in preparations for the siege of Mentz, and indeed from that time the place might be considered as

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a state of blockade, and the numerous garrison subsisted chiefly on horse-flesh. The king was, however, too much engaged with his new acquisitions in Poland to form any serious attack till the beginning of May. On the fourth of that month the king arrived just at the commencement of an attack on the village of Costheim, from which, however, they were not able to dislodge the French. From this period to the beginning of June, frequent and bloody skirmishes took place between the garrison and the besieging army, without any thing decisive. On the fourth of June the French made a most desperate sortie upon the village of Marienborn, which they carried, and spiked some cannon; and on the ninth they attempted a general sortie on all sides, but were every where repulsed. The combined army opened the trenches before Mentz on the nineteenth and twentieth of June. On the morning of the twenty-fourth the garrison made a sortie, and spiked four pieces of cannon. On the same day a large number of women and children were dismissed from the garrison; but the Prussians upon this occasion, proved, if possible, more unfeeling russians than the Austrians at the siege of Condé. They fired upon, and actually destroyed the greater part of these helpless and wretched creatures: many of the women, from witnessing the horrid scenes which surrounded them on this dreadful day, were seized with despair and threw themselves with their children into the Main.\* On the twenty-fifth another sortie was attempted by the garrison, but they were repulsed. On the seventh of July the strong works of the French at Costheim were carried by the allies, by which they lost eight hundred men, and seven pieces of cannon. This success was followed on the fifteenth by the blowing up

\* This is an instance of the humanity of these boasted allies of Great Britain: yet the courts of Vienna and Berlin spoke with horror of the guillotine, and affected to be shocked at the recital of French cruelties. Indeed, they waged war with France solely in defence of *humanity, morality, and religion.*

of the laboratory in Mentz, and the destruction of a magazine of hay and straw, by the fire of the besiegers.—Cassel, which covered Mentz on the opposite side of the Rhine, was set on fire on the seventeenth, and several ammunition waggons were blown up. On the eighteenth the French army of the Rhine made a grand attempt for the relief of Mentz. They made a vigorous effort to force their way through, not far from Landau, and made their attack in three places at once. They were, however, repulsed in every part by general Wurmsler.—This last effort, therefore, proving unsuccessful, the garrison capitulated on the twenty-second; the principal condition of which was, that they should not serve for the space of one year against the allies. On the eighth of August the French were driven from the strong position which they had taken behind the Scheld, and which was known by the name of Cæsar's camp: as the French did not make much resistance on this occasion, the loss on both sides was not considerable.

XXVIII. With these achievements the success of the allies may be said to have terminated. The protracted sieges of these different fortresses had given time to the French to recover from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the defection of Dumourier; and that energy which every thinking man foresaw would finally defeat the absurd project of the allies, began once more to come effectually into action. After the reduction of Valenciennes a grand council of war was held, in which a project of the British ministry for the separation of the army, and for an attack on French Flanders, was submitted to the allies. Two other plans were submitted to the council by these officers. The first, was to penetrate to Paris by the assistance of the rivers which fall into the Seine, on which the heavy stores and artillery might be transported. The other, which was that of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait, was to take immediate advantage of the alarm which the surrender of Valenciennes had occasioned, and the disorder of the French armies from the denunciation of the general

and with forty or fifty thousand light troops penetrate to Paris, while a debarkation might be made on the side of Britany, to assist the royalists in that quarter. It is evident that none of these plans was consistent with true policy. Whatever number of troops had been detached to Paris would have been surrounded and cut off; and as to assisting the royalists in Britany, it is certain that the aid of foreign troops would not have added to the popularity of their cause; besides, that such a circumstance must have rendered their army stationary, and consequently exposed to the danger of a complete defeat; whereas, it was by occasionally dispersing and assembling during the night at a moment's notice, and by taking advantage of the woods and covers, that they were enabled, for a length of time, to harass the republicans. That the project of attacking West Flanders was ill-conceived, the event sufficiently proved. Indeed, a wise statesman would have rejected all these plans, and would have embraced the opportunity which the distresses of the French now afforded, to establish an advantageous peace. But if wisdom had been at all consulted, the war would have been avoided. In consequence of the reponderating influence of the British ministry in the grand council of war, the plan of attacking West Flanders was adopted.

XXIX. This scheme being finally agreed on, the British, Hanoverians, and the Dutch, with some Hessians and Austrians, separated from the main army, and commenced their march to Dunkirk on the twelfth of August. To ensure success to the grand object of the expedition, the duke of York, who commanded this army, sent over an exact list of the ordnance, ammunition, and stores, requisite for the siege of Dunkirk; and which he particularly directed to be ready by the time at which his royal highness intended to be with his army before that town; and without which it was impossible for him to attempt the siege with any prospect of success. The master of the ordnance (the duke of Richmond) was startled at the magnitude of the or-

der: he instantly sent for the principal store-keeper and other officers of the warren, to know if they had the quantity required, and could embark it in the time mentioned. They undertook the order, and actually on the next day, by uncommon exertions, the whole demand of ordnance, ammunition, and stores, was on the water edge ready for embarkation. But his grace, still doubting of the safety of thus disarming the country, which he affected to represent as in a state of imminent danger, remonstrated to his royal highness upon the inexpediency of supplying his demand at that time. Three weeks were consumed in the correspondence between the commander in chief of the British forces, who had ordered what ordnance and ammunition he found necessary, and the master-general of the ordnance, who chose to demand the command. In the mean time the ammunition and stores were again deposited in the store-houses, lest they should be damaged by lying thus exposed on the open shore. His royal highness, to avoid warning the enemy of his intentions, filled up the time of this extraordinary negotiation with the army of the prince of Cobourg. But in vain; for the enemy, during this period, either knowing or suspecting the views of the British cabinet, increased the garrison of Dunkirk by an augmentation of twelve thousand troops. On the sixteenth of August the duke of York encamped at Tournai, where a council of war was held on the succeeding day; on the eighteenth the British marched to a camp which had been marked out near Menin, and found the Dutch, under the hereditary prince of Orange, engaged in an attack on the French outposts, in which his highness was repulsed. On this occasion three battalions of the British guards, consisting of one thousand one hundred and twenty-two men, were ordered under general Lake to march to the succour of some Dutch troops at Lincelles. Upon their arrival they found a redoubt of uncommon size and strength, occupied by five thousand French, who had dislodged and routed the Dutch from that post. "General Lake," says the gazette, "enclosed



braced a resolution worthy of the troops he commanded. He advanced under a heavy fire, with an order and intrepidity for which no praise can be too high. After firing three or four rounds, they rushed on with their bayonets, stormed the redoubts, and drove the enemy through the village, who lost eleven pieces of cannon, two of which had been taken from the Dutch, and have not since appeared in that quarter." In this action colonel Bosville was killed, and some hundreds of the British troops killed and wounded; and, after all, the works of Lincelles were immediately destroyed, and the post left unoccupied.

XXX. The duke of York having at last received intelligence, that the ammunition and ordnance he had demanded were shipped, began his march towards Dunkirk on the twentieth of August. On the twenty third he summoned the governor to surrender the town to his Britannic majesty; to which summons he received next day the following laconic answer:—"Invested with the confidence of the French republic, I have received your summons to surrender an important city. I answer by assuring you, that I shall defend it with the brave republicans I have the honor to command." Besides the heavy artillery for the siege, which had not as yet arrived, a grand flotilla was promised by the British cabinet to co-operate in the siege: the most solemn assurances were given to the duke of York, that, unless delayed by contrary winds, this flotilla should certainly be in the bay of Dunkirk on the twenty fourth. The wind, however, had been favorable for some time, yet the reinforcement did not sail from Woolwich till the twenty sixth, on which day admiral Macbride, who was to command that expedition, received his final orders. The public was in the mean time amused with details of the bravery and intrepidity of the British troops in skirmishing and in repelling the sorties of the enemy; who, it was now found, were sixteen thousand strong. In one of these attacks, the ardor of the troops carried them further in the pursuit than was intended, and brought them

them under the cannon of the place, by which a considerable loss was sustained: the Austrian general Dalton and colonel Eld of the Coldstream regiment of guards were among the killed. On the twenty seventh, some heavy stores and artillery were landed off Nieuport, and three days after major Hudleston arrived at Ostend, with a further supply of artillery, ammunition and stores for the reduction of Dunkirk. The French gun-boats greatly annoyed the British troops during the whole time they were within their reach. Admiral Macbride was therefore dispatched to London to enforce the necessity of sending immediately a naval force of gun-boats, bomb-vessels and other light craft, as well as more forces to co-operate with the besieging army. Independent of the general reliance which the duke of York had in the intrepidity of his troops, he had also an expectation of being admitted into the town by a *golden key*. He had kept up a secret correspondence with the former governor general Omoran, nor did he till his arrival know, that the plan had been discovered, and that Omoran was removed from his post, and convicted of the treachery, for which he was afterwards executed. Although general O'Meara, who had at first succeeded his countryman Omoran in the command of the garrison, answered the summons of the duke of York, yet the besieged had at that time actually removed O'Meara from the chief command, not choosing to repose so important a trust in a traitor, and a countryman of the person who had so recently engaged to betray them. On the twenty fifth, the siege might be said regularly to commence, but from that time to the sixth of September, nothing of material importance occurred. On the sixth, however, the covering army of general Freytag was surprised and totally routed before the duke of York was even acquainted with the approach of the enemy. The first intelligence he received of this disastrous event was by a note written with a pencil. At the same moment a sortie from the garrison was announced, and a most precipitate retreat was the consequence. The loss of British troops in the con-

further

fusion of such a surprise was fortunately not very great; but his royal highness narrowly escaped being surrounded and made a prisoner. All the ammunition and stores were either left to the enemy or thrown into the canal. The fine train of artillery which had moved so reluctantly from Woolwich Warren, was only landed to be lost. Sixty four of the heavy cannons were thrown into the canal, seven were buried in the earth, and forty-three left in the field. In the retreat of the Hanoverians, his royal highness prince Adolphus and general Freytag were both wounded and taken prisoners, but were afterwards rescued. Above three thousand five hundred Hanoverians were killed, besides very severe losses in every other corps of which the covering army was composed. It is now well understood that if general Houchard, who commanded the French army on this occasion, had done his duty, he might have effectually cut off the retreat of the duke of York, and captured almost the whole of the allied army. For this gross neglect the French general was afterwards denounced, and suffered by the sentence of the revolutionary tribunal.

XXXI. The army of the allies which remained under the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait, was not in the main more successful. On the eight of August a detachment of this army attempted to form the siege of Nambray; but after remaining for some days before the town, the Austrian general was obliged to raise the siege. Bouchain was also invested, but was afterwards relieved. Quenoy was the only quarter in which the allies were this period successful. That place surrendered on the eleventh of September to general Clairfait; a considerable detachment, which had been sent to its relief, having been previously repulsed by the prince of Cobourg.

XXXII. On the side of the Rhine a number of petty actions took place, in which the French were generally successful, but which were productive of no event of importance. On the twenty second of August, general Landremont assumed the command at Weissenbourg, and

and continued skirmishing with the enemy till the conclusion of the month. On the seventh of September he attacked the army of the allies in several points, and drove them back with great loss; at the post of Lauterbourg only he asserts that the allies lost one thousand five hundred men. This success was followed on the twelfth by a general attack, in which the French are said to have killed two thousand Austrians and emigrants, dismounted a battery, and spiked several pieces of cannon.

XXXIII. The French army of the north, after raising the siege of Dunkirk, took a strong position in the neighbourhood of Maubeuge, where they were immediately blocked by the whole united force of the allies collected under the prince of Cobourg. Upon the fifteenth and sixteenth of October, however, the prince was attacked by the troops of the republic, under general Jourdan (who succeeded Houchard) with such vigor and effect, that he was compelled, after an immense loss to abandon his position, and repass the Sambre. Elated with this success, the French immediately made inroad into Maritime Flanders. They attacked the allied force in several places at once; they took possession of Werwick and obliged general Erback to abandon Menin, and retreat to Courtray. On the twenty second they advanced and took Furnes; they then proceeded to Nieuport which they besieged and greatly damaged; but the place was saved by having recourse to inundation. It was some time before the allied forces were able to stop the progress of the French, and their generals even trembled for the fate of Ostend. A considerable armament from England, however, being at that time preparing for the West Indies, under sir Charles Grey, their destination was altered; and by arriving at the fortunate moment at Ostend, they protracted for a short time the crisis, when the low countries were to become once more subject to the dominion of France.

XXXIV. The forces of the republic were still more eminently successful in repelling the attempts of the royalists, in the department of La Vendée. General Biron

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repulſed the army of the inſurgents from Lucon, on the  
twenty eight of June; and nearly about the ſame time  
the city of Nantz was relieved from their incurſions by  
general Beyſſer. Chatillon was reſcued from them on the  
third of July by general Weſtermann; but on the follow-  
ing day he was ſurpriſed by the royaliſts, and compelled  
to retreat to Parthenay. On Weſtermann's defeat he was  
ſummoned to Paris to answer for his conduct, but was  
honorably acquitted. The chief command after this cir-  
cumſtance devolved on general Beyſſer, who in ſeveral  
ſkirmiſhes put the royaliſts to flight. In the beginning  
of Auguſt they were again defeated by general Roſſignol.  
On the tenth of that month, however, while the citizens;  
were celebrating the civic feaſt, general Charette, the  
commander in chief of the inſurgents, vigorouſly aſſailed  
the city of Nantz, but was repulſed with loſs. In the  
mean time blood and deſtation marked the progreſs of  
his ſoldiers. Their religious ceremonies and their mili-  
tary diſcipline were a ſtrange compound of ſuperſtition  
and cruelty: they are even accuſed of having mingled  
the ſacramental wine with the blood of their adverſaries,  
and adminiſtered it to the people. One of their ſtandards,  
which was preſented to the national convention, was  
white on one ſide, and red on the other; on the red ſide  
was embrodered the figure of a biſhop in his pontificals;  
and on the white, the virgin Mary, with the infant Jeſus  
in her arms. They gained a conſiderable advantage over  
the republicans at Parthenay, in the latter end of Auguſt.  
In the ſeventh of September, however, general Roſſignol  
thieved a ſignal victory over the inſurgents at Pontde-cé;  
and in conjunction with Santerre routed them again at  
Bouay, Thouars, and Ervaux, on the ſucceeding days.  
In the latter end of September the gariſon of Mentz was  
ordered to march into La Vendée, and on the ſixth of  
October the advanced guard vanquiſhed an army of  
twenty five thouſand royaliſts. It would be tedious to  
enter into a more minute detail of this war; it is ſuf-  
ficient to ſtate, that the unfortunate inſurgents made a  
vigorous reſiſtance to every effort of the convention  
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till the middle of October, 1793, when they were completely routed. After being driven from La Vendée they divided into three bodies. The first threw themselves into the island of Noirmoutier, where they remained some time in a state of blockade, but were at length subdued. The second seems to have dispersed; and the third took the route of Anjou, Maine, and Brittany, where they carried on for a while a desultory warfare but were at length gradually dispersed.

XXXV. The disaffection of some of the other French provinces to the new government, which immediately followed what is called the revolution of the thirty first of May, was productive of still more serious consequences to France, and which tended to revive in the allied powers the hope of ultimate success. The department of Calvados was the first in arms, and a formidable force was collected about the latter end of June in the neighbourhood of Caen, under the command of general Fels Wimpfen, the hero of Thionville, and under the supposed direction of the fugitive deputies, Petion, Buzot, and Barbaroux. In the beginning of July this body of troops, which was called the departmental army, had advanced as far as Evreux: but the people were evidently not hearty in the cause; for, on the approach of the republican army under general Seppar, after a slight skirmish with the advanced guard, they retired again into Calvados; and before the end of the month completely dispersed, and the department returned to its allegiance. Petion, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Volladi, Wimpfen &c. fled; but the majority of them were soon afterwards taken, and delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal. The formidable union which took place under the name of *federate republicanism*, between the cities of Marseille, Lyons, and Toulon, still however continued, and seemed to threaten almost the dissolution of the existing authorities. A considerable force was dispatched against them under general Cartaux in the latter end of July; and in the beginning of August the Marseillois were driven from the department of Vaucluse, which they had previously

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viously occupied. On the twenty fourth, the republicans attacked and took the town of Aix; and immediately upon this success the Marseillois opened their gates and submitted. But the people of Toulon and the French admiral Trugoff entered into a negotiation with the English admiral, lord Hood, who was then cruising in the Mediterranean, and he took possession both of the town and the shipping in the name of LOUIS XVII. and under the express and positive stipulation that he was to assist in restoring the *constitution of 1789*. In the mean time general Kellermann, who commanded the army of the Alps, was dispatched against Lyons. It contained an immense and mixed multitude of the discontented citizens of every class, some royalists, some of the first emigrants, and a considerable number of the Girond party. The city remained in a state of blockade from the eighth of August; but the first attack was resisted with great bravery. On the twenty second and twenty third, the Lyonese are computed to have lost not less than two thousand men, and a great part of the city was reduced to a heap of ruins. In the month of September, it appeared that Kellermann had not been sufficiently active, general Doppet, a young officer, who had just exchanged the profession of a physician for that of a soldier, was appointed to the command; and on the eight of October the city of Lyons surrendered to that general. The chiefs of the royalists had fled, but several of them were afterwards taken and executed. By a subsequent decree of the convention, the wall and public buildings of Lyons were ordered to be destroyed, and the name of the city itself to be changed to that of *Ville Affranchie*.

XXXIV. In the beginning of August, the leaders of the convention asserted that a plot of the English ministry had been discovered, the object of which was to corrupt and bribe all the constituted authorities in France. A series of decrees was accordingly passed, chiefly directed against England. One of those decrees declared every Frenchman a traitor, who should place money in the English funds; and another ordered, that all foreigners,

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and chiefly the English, should be put under arrest. A subsequent decree declared Pitt, the British minister, **THE ENEMY OF THE HUMAN SPECIES.** About the same period an outrage against the law of nations was committed by the Austrians, who arrested citizens Maret and Semonville on a neutral territory, while on their progress as ambassadors to Naples and Constantinople. In a session of the convention on the sixteenth of August the energetic and fertile genius of Barrere conceived the sublime project of exciting the whole people of France to rise in a mass to expel the invaders from their territory. The plan was afterwards digested by the committee of public safety. By this decree, not only the valor of the French nation, but industry and the arts were placed in a state of requisition, and to prevent the evils resulting from the undisciplined exertions of a mixed multitude the new levies were organized with singular ability, and central points were established for their assembling. On this decree it is only necessary to remark, that, had it not been seconded by the enthusiasm of the people, it must have been nugatory and perhaps prejudicial. Arbitrary governments will attempt to copy it in vain: it is the free spirit of the people only that can give effect to such daring projects, though the genius of the ruling power may certainly direct and regulate the energy, on which success must eventually depend. Happy had it been for France and for mankind, if the heroism of the nation had been tempered with humanity; but the French have in all instances appeared too prodigal of blood. That the people experienced great provocations from the treachery of their commanders, from the plots of foreign power, and from the intrigues of contending factions, candor must admit: but the rigor of their punishments certainly exceeded in many cases the measure of the offence; and the haste and rashness of their adjudications leave at least a doubt in others of the justice of the sentence. Among the victims of popular resentment who fell about this period was the celebrated general Custine whose former services to the republic should have

rest. A minister, about the time when Mareschal de Saxe was at Constantinople. Of Augustus received the French territory. Committee of the Revolution placed in the midst of a multitude of people, and a blinding. Of that, had the people, judicial. And in vain: a give effect of the ruling energy, of happy had heroism of the French Republic of blood. Communications from the plots of contending of their people as the measure of their adjustment of the justice of the government which General Custine should have cured

cured him a more honorable destiny. He was called to Paris from the command of the northern army in the beginning of July, and on the eighteenth arrived in that capital, from which he was never to return. On the twenty second he was committed by a decree of the convention to the Abby prison; and in the beginning of August was brought before the revolutionary tribunal. The charges against him were—"That he had maintained a secret correspondence with the enemy—That he had left the garrison of Mentz unprovided with necessaries; in consequence of which many brave defenders of their country perished, and the whole suffered the extreme of famine and misery, and were at last compelled to capitulate—That there existed a letter signed Custine, in which he engaged D'Ogse commandant of Mentz to deliver up the place to the Prussians—That he had insulted the national representation by disobeying its orders, and by asserting publicly in a letter to the minister, 'that such decrees as he did not approve only served him for capillottes' (curl papers)—That finally he had not exerted himself properly to prevent Valenciennes from falling into the hands of the enemy." How far these charges were well founded, it is impossible as yet to determine. The unfortunate general, in the crisis of his adversity, lamented that he appeared forsaken by every friend; and the populace of Paris, accustomed to sights of horror, beheld the sacrifice of their former defender with calm indifference, or with brutal exultation.

XXXVII. The trial and condemnation of the queen immediately succeeded that of Custine. She had been removed on the night of the first of August from the temple to a small and miserable apartment in the prison of the Conciergerie, where she remained till she was brought before the revolutionary tribunal on the fifteenth of October. The act of accusation consisted of several charges, the substance of which was—"That she had contributed to the derangements of the national finances, by remitting from time to time considerable sums to her brother, the emperor Joseph—That since the re-

volution she had continued to hold a criminal correspondence with foreign powers—That in every instance she had directed her views to a counter-revolution, particularly in exciting the body guards and others of the military at Versailles on the first of October 1789—That, in concert with Louis Capet, she had distributed counter-revolutionary papers and writings; and even to favor their purposes, some in which she was personally defamed—That, in the beginning of October 1789, by the agency of certain monopolists, she had created an artificial famine—That she was a principal agent and promoter of the flight of the royal family in June 1791—That she instituted private councils in the palace, at which the massacres, as they were termed, in the Champ de Mars, at Nancy, &c. were planned—That in consequence of these councils she had persuaded her husband to interpose his veto against the decrees concerning the emigrants and the refractory priests—That she influenced him to form a body guard composed of disaffected persons, and induced him to give employments to the refractory priests. One of the most singular and absurd charges was—“That in conjunction with a scandalous faction (that of the Gironde) she induced the king and the assembly to declare war against Austria, contrary to every principle of sound policy and the public welfare.” The act proceeds to state “—That she communicated to the enemy plans of the campaign and other intelligence—That the affair of the tenth of August was the consequence of a horrible conspiracy against the nation formed by her intrigues; and that, to promote her views, she kept the Swiss guards in a state of intoxication—That, on that day, she presented the king with a pistol, saying; ‘this is the moment to shew yourself;’ and on his refusing, called him a coward—That she was also a principal agent in the internal war with which France has been distressed.” The last charge was the most infamous and the most incredible, viz.—“That, like Agrippa, she had held an incestuous commerce with her own son.” On the trial a number of witnesses



witnesses were examined, but few of the charges appeared to be sufficiently substantiated. A maid servant gave in evidence a conversation which she had formerly held with the duke of Coigny, in which he complained of the immense sums privately remitted by the queen to her brother during his war with the Turks; and some papers were referred to, from which it appeared that the queen had drawn for money on the treasury since the revolution. The charge concerning her favouring the anti-patriotic sentiments of the body guards at Versailles on the first of October was better supported, and on the whole tolerably proved, as well as her activity in promoting the flight of the royal family to Varennes. It appeared also that she had been frequently consulted by the king upon political subjects; that she had recommended some persons to brevets in the guard-du-corps: that she treated her son with regal respect was also proved. But the horrid charge of incest was made upon the authority merely of some indistinct communications from the boy Capet to the mayor of Paris. Had the conduct of Marie Antoinette been less exceptionable than there is reason to believe it was, there is little probability that she could have escaped. After an hour's consultation, therefore, the jury brought in their verdict—'Guilty of all the charges.' The queen heard the sanguinary sentence with dignity and resignation; perhaps indeed it might be considered by her less as a punishment than as a release. On the sixteenth of October, at about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, she was conducted from the prison of the Conciergerie to a scaffold prepared in the place de la revolution, where her unfortunate husband had previously suffered. Her behaviour at that awful moment was decent and composed. The minister of St. Landray was appointed to discharge the office of a confessor, and whatever might have been the foibles and errors which disgraced her early years, there is the strongest reason to believe that she died a real penitent; and, like her husband, found in the truths of religion a source of consolation of which neither malice nor persecution

could deprive her; a consolation which can assuage all the evils of adversity, and can even alleviate the pangs of remorse.

XXXVIII. Turning from these sanguinary scenes, we must now advert to the state of the armies and the progress of the campaign. The defeat of the allies was in some small measure compensated to England by the intelligence, that in the beginning of October the royalists of fort Jeremie, in St. Domingo, had invited the English to take possession of that part of the Island, and that Cape Nicola Mole submitted in a few days after to the British arms. In the East Indies also Pondicherry, and the other French settlements on the coast of Coromandel, were taken by the English. But it was in Europe that the valor and military skill of the French was displayed to the most advantage. The decree for rising in one body operated like an incantation, and produced an army as by a miracle. It was however some time before their numerous forces could be brought into action, and in some cases the treachery of the commanders was supposed to act in favor of the combined powers. Early in the month of September, Landau had been invested by the allies, but while the French maintained the strong lines at Weissenbourg, and on the Lauter, there was but little prospect of success. On the fifteenth of October therefore the Austrian general Wurmser made a grand attack upon the lines of Lauter; and if the French accounts are true, their generals permitted the Austrians almost without resistance to force the lines. The whole of the lines, with the town of Lauterburgh, were carried, which Wurmser himself confesses might have held out a siege of several days. The French lost also the whole of their artillery. The town of Wiesenbourg made a formidable resistance, and it was not carried without the loss of between seven and eight hundred men. The French retreated towards Haguenau, from which however they were dislodged on the eighteenth. The Austrian general lost no time in proceeding towards Strasbourg and on the twenty-fifth again routed the French

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and was enabled to take possession of Wanzenau. On the twenty-seventh he was attacked by the French; but they were compelled to retreat, with the supposed loss of three thousand men. In the beginning of November the deputies St. Just and Le Bas were sent to Strasburg to re-organize the discomfited troops. They ordered immense reinforcements from the neighbouring departments; and to afford a salutary example of severity, general Trembert, who was convicted of treachery in the affair of the lines of Weissebourg, was shot at the head of the army on the ninth. A conspiracy was also detected at Strasburg, for delivering up the place to the enemy, and the traitors were punished. These spirited proceedings were not sufficient however to save Fort Louis, which fell into the hands of general Wurmser on the fourteenth of November, not without strong suspicions of treachery on the part of the commandant. Here however the successes of Wurmser terminated; for on the twenty-first of November the Austrians were compelled to retreat, and the French army penetrated to Vautruan, and almost to the gates of Haguenau. In the mean time the army of the Moselle advanced to co-operate with the grand army of the Rhine; and on the seventeenth of November the Prussians were defeated near Saarbruck with some loss. On the succeeding day the Prussian camp at Bliescastel was stormed and taken by the French, under general Hoche, who immediately advanced to Deux Ponts. The post of Hornback, and the heights of Milleback, were carried with great bravery by the French; and the Prussians were immediately compelled to abandon Deux Ponts.

XXXIX. On the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of November the French were repulsed with considerable loss in two spirited attacks made on the duke of Brunswick's posts near Lautern; but these were more than compensated by the success of the republicans under general Schlegel, on the eighth of December, who carried with fixed bayonets all the redoubts of the allies which covered Haguenau; and on the twenty-second the allies were driven

driven with an immense slaughter from Bischoffers, Dufenheim, and Haguenau, notwithstanding the almost continued works by which they had covered the line which joins the two posts. The entrenchments on the heights of Reishoffen, Jaudershoffen, and Freyeivillers Radneith, are said to be not less formidable than those of Jemappe, and formed three rows of redoubts which the allies considered as impregnable. They were however stormed by the army of the Moselle, under general Hoche, who had joined Pichegru, and carried sword in hand. On the twenty-third and twenty-fourth the French pursued the enemy to the heights of Wrotte, where they had also erected most formidable entrenchments. On the twenty-sixth general Pichegru prepared to attack these entrenchments in form, but after a fruitless cannonade, the republican soldiers called out to sound the charge, and marched up to the very foot of the entrenchments. A desperate conflict ensued, which lasted from two o'clock in the afternoon till five. At half past six the French were masters of the heights, and at ten all the enemy's posts were abandoned. On the twenty-seventh the republican army entered Weissembourg in triumph. General Wurmsfer made good his retreat to the Rhine, and the duke of Brunswick hastily retreated to cover Mentz. The Prince of Hohenloe had summoned Landau on the fourteenth of December; but receiving an indignant reply from the commandant, general Laubadere, the Prussian general Knobelsdorf attempted to establish an intercourse with the garrison, which was rejected with a spirit equal to the baseness of the experiment. In consequence of the retreat of the allies the siege was raised. Kaiserslautern, Guernersheim, and Spires immediately submitted to the French in consequence of these victories.

XL. In the north but little was performed on either side during the latter part of the campaign. On the nineteenth of November a trifling skirmish took place between a part of the garrison of Ypres, and a party of the French who attempted to establish themselves at Poperinghue, from which they were dislodged with the loss

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loss of forty-five prisoners. On the twenty-eight of the same month, they attacked the out-posts of the duke of York at Nechin and Liers, but were repulsed with some loss; and on the thirtieth they were again unsuccessful in an attack on the same posts.

XLI. The siege of Toulon was commenced immediately after the reduction of Marseilles. On the eighth of September general Cartaux arrived at the passes of Olioulles. The English and Spaniards occupied the heights on the right, and the royalists those on the left. As soon as the French general was perceived, he was saluted by a general shout of *Vive Louis XVII.* and by discharge of musketry. At mid-day he ordered the attack, and by two o'clock the enemy were dispersed, 50 of them being killed upon the spot, and a number of prisoners taken. On the first of October the republican troops carried the heights of Pharon, which the English had fortified; but after retaining it a few hours, reinforcements arriving, they were forced again to abandon the post. On the fourteenth an action took place between the garrison, who had marched out to the defence of the redoubt of Malbousquet, and the army of Cartaux, in which the English and the allies lost about 200 men and the French about 30: no return was however made by the English general of the Toulonese who fell in the action. On the succeeding day Cape Brun was taken with great bravery by the republicans; and at the same time a detachment from the garrison, sent to occupy the heights of Thouars, was dislodged, and obliged to retreat into the town. The allies lost in both actions above 100 men. In the beginning of November general Cartaux was ordered to the command of the army in Italy, and general Dagobert was appointed to command the besieging army at Toulon. About the same period general O'Hara arrived with reinforcements from Gibraltar at Toulon, having been appointed governor and commander in chief. On the thirtieth of November the garrison made a vigorous sortie in order to destroy some batteries which the enemy were erecting



erecting upon certain heights, within cannon shot of the city. The detachments sent for this purpose accomplished it with silence and success; and the French troops were surprised and fled. Elated unfortunately with the facility of the conquest, the allied troops rushed forward in pursuit of their flying foes, when they unexpectedly encountered a considerable force which was proceeding to cover the retreat of the fugitives. At this moment general O'Hara arrived upon the spot; and while he was exerting himself to bring off his troops with regularity, he received a wound in his arm, and was made prisoner. It is said that near a thousand of the British and allied forces were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners on this occasion. Soon after the capture of the British general O'Hara, the city of Toulon was evacuated by the allies. On the morning of the nineteenth of December the attack began before all the French forces had time to come up. It was chiefly directed against an English redoubt (Fort Mulgrave) which commanded the forts of l'Eguillette and Ballaguier, defended by more than three thousand men, twenty pieces of cannon, and several mortars. This formidable post was not able to resist the ardor of the republican army. It was attacked about five o'clock in the morning, and at six the republican flag was flying upon it. This success cost the French about two hundred men killed, and more than five hundred wounded. The allies lost the whole of the garrison, of which five hundred were prisoners, including eight officers and a Neapolitan prince. The representatives of the people rushed among the several columns and rallied those who were panic-struck for an instant. Dismayed by the success of their enemies, the allies evacuated the other forts, and began to take measures for removing their ships out of the reach of the shot and shells which the French incessantly poured upon them. More than four hundred oxen, sheep, and hogs, with large quantities of forage and provisions of all sorts, and more than an hundred pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the French. The town was bombarded from

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noon till ten o'clock the same evening; when the allies and part of the inhabitants, having first set fire to the town and shipping, precipitated their flight: two chaloupes filled with the fugitives were sunk to the bottom by the batteries. The sudden haste with which the evacuation was effected, caused a great part of the ships and property to fall into the hands of the French, and was attended with the most melancholy consequences to the wretched inhabitants. As soon as they observed the preparation for flight, they crowded to the shore—they demanded the protection which had been promised them on the faith of the British crown. A scene of confusion, riot, and plunder ensued; and though great efforts were made to transport thousands of the people to the ships, still thousands were left to all the vengeance of their enraged countrymen. Many of them plunged into the sea, and made a vain effort to swim on board the ships. Others were seen on the beach to shoot themselves to avoid the still more dreadful fate that awaited them.—In the midst of this awful scene of distress and despair, the flames were rapidly spreading in every direction, and the ships on fire, were threatening every instant to explode, and blow all around them into the air.—This is but a faint description of the scene on shore, and was scarcely less dreadful on board the ships. Loaded with the most heterogeneous mixture of all nations, with old men and infants, as well as women; with the sick from all the hospitals, and with the mangled soldiers from their posts just deserted, with their wounds still undressed; nothing could equal the horrors of the sight, except the still more appalling cries of distraction that filled the ear, for husbands, fathers, children left on shore. To increase this unexampled distress, they were without sufficient provisions for this mixed and helpless multitude of human beings; and such as they had were almost unfit for use. Of thirty-one ships of the line, which the English found at Toulon, thirteen were left behind, nine were burnt at Toulon, and one at Leghorn; and four lord Hood had previously sent away to the

the French ports of Brest and Rochfort, with five thousand republican seamen, whom he was afraid to trust.—Great Britain, therefore, obtained, by an immense profusion of blood and treasure, which the Toulon expedition cost, only three ships of the line and five frigates, which were all that lord Hood was able to carry away.

XLII. The war on the side of Spain was productive of nothing but petty skirmishes, not worth detailing; and on the side of Savoy the king of Sardinia made but a slow progress in recovering his possessions, which the British ministry were so generous as to guarantee to him at an immense expence. On the twenty-seventh of September the Piedmontese were repulsed in attempting to penetrate between Mourienne and Brianconais. The French saw them descend from the tops of the mountains and carried their redoubts with the bayonet. The city of Cluz was then in possession of the French, and they were proceeding to Salons. In the mean time an English vessel arrived at Nice with a flag of truce, and a proclamation to the inhabitants, exhorting them to accept the royal constitution of 1789; but the magistrates of Nice replied, “that French republicans would never become slaves, and that no other answer would be made to royalists, except from the cannon’s mouth.”

XLIII. An expedition had been planned by the British government for the purpose of co-operating with the royalist party on the coast of Britany, and the earl of Moira was appointed to the command. The scheme, however, failed in the execution. By some unexplained causes the expedition was delayed till the royalists were completely subdued; and when the fleet and transport appeared off the coast, they found the French so far prepared for their reception, that it would have been madness to have attempted a landing. Thus ended the first campaign in which England took an active share, and the second ineffectual attempt of the allies to subjugate France. The enormous price of the dearly bought experience is the least of the evils we have to lament. The soul sickens at every view that presents it  
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self. The defenceless and abandoned royalists every where vanquished and butchered—mowed down at Lyons from one hundred and forty to twenty-five thousand souls—unable to gain the sea-shore either to be succoured or transported—Toulon abandoned, before witnesses from every nation in Europe—the armies of the Rhine driven back with unheard of slaughter, traversing with giant strides the ground which by inches they had gained with incessant labor—the energy of the French arms triumphing in all quarters.—At home credit on the wane: bankruptcies innumerable: manufactures at a stand: the poor out of employment: the middle classes staggering under the pressure of existing taxes, with the certainty of a fresh accumulation. Such were the fruits of the first campaign.

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*Trial and Acquittal of John Thelwall—Conclusion.*

I. **T**HOUGH the war in which we were unfortunately engaged at the close of 1793, teemed with events that demanded the serious and constant attention of government, yet we find that ministers had still leisure, amidst these momentous concerns, to indulge an unrelenting spirit of prosecution against every attempt at home, to procure a parliamentary reform. This favorite national object appears, at the period in question, to have been pursued with more vigor and systematic regularity by its advocates in Scotland, than in any other part of the British empire. Mr. Muir, one of the faculty of advocates at Edinburgh, was the first person found guilty of sedition for the support and countenance he had given to this measure, at different meetings held for that purpose. Mr. Muir was sentenced by the high court of judicary, “to be transported beyond the seas to such place as his majesty with the advice of his privy council should judge proper, for the space of fourteen years.” Several facts occurred in the course of this gentleman’s trial, which tended to shake that reverence in which the decisions of a court of justice ought ever to be held. Such in particular were the admission of evidence to charges not contained in the indictment, and the overruling the strongest challenges of several of the jurors. Mr. Palmer, a dissenting minister at Dundee, was tried soon after for a similar offence, and was also sentenced to be transported for seven years. It was proved on the trial of Mr. Palmer, that he was not the author of the libel for which he was indicted, but that he only corrected some of its expressions, and ordered it to be printed. It was also contended in vain, with much strong argument and fair reference to the statutes, that the crime with which both of the gentlemen in question were charged, was that of *leasing making*, or public libel, the express punishment for which is prescribed by the law of Scotland to be *fine, imprisonment, or banishment*, under which last term the idea of *transportation*

could not be included, that being obviously a punishment of a severer nature than simple banishment.

II. The unprecedented severity of these sentences, which were no doubt intended to deter people from pursuing the same object, was so far from producing the effect expected, that most of the societies in that part of the kingdom immediately published resolutions, in which they declared their intention to persevere in their peaceable endeavours to procure a parliamentary reform. A very numerous association met at Edinburgh, who styled themselves a CONVENTION OF DELEGATES for obtaining UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE and ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS. This was the first society that had declared its principle of the specific mode of reform which they aimed at: they rather displeased some well-wishers to the general cause of reform, by affecting an imitation of the French convention in their title, and in their mode of addressing each other at their meetings by the appellation of CITIZEN. These circumstances, though trivial in themselves, and not infringing any of the laws of the land, might perhaps with more prudence and policy have been omitted. They appear to have been adopted by men in the moment of irritation at being foiled in a variety of prior attempts to bring their grievances under the consideration of parliament. This society assumed a shape altogether singular and attractive, but certainly innocent and legal. It cannot be denied, that some persons of great respectability belonged to this convention. Several of its members were however soon taken into custody, and among this number Messrs. Skirvin, Gerald; and Margarot, were tried before the high court of judicature, and sentenced each to fourteen years' transportation. These gentlemen, together with Messrs. Muir and Palmer, were afterwards sent to Botany Bay.

1794. III. The British parliament assembled on the twenty-first of January 1794. In the speech from the throne his majesty called the attention of the two houses to the issue of the war, "on which," he observed, "depended the support of our constitution, laws, religion, and

and the security of all civil society—to the advantages which had attended our arms both at land and sea—and the expectation of ultimate success, as the operations of our enemies were alone derived from an arbitrary system, which enabled them unjustly to dispose of the lives and properties of the people, which must necessarily induce internal discontent and confusion.” His majesty proceeded to state “the impossibility of making peace upon the only grounds on which it ought to be concluded, the permanent safety of the country, and the tranquillity of all other nations.” He noticed “the treaties and conventions into which he had entered for this object with foreign powers”—and mentioned “the general loyalty which prevailed amongst all ranks notwithstanding the continued efforts to mislead and seduce the people.” The address to the commons was, as usual, more brief. His majesty “doubted not of *their* readiness to provide for all exigences—lamented the necessity of additional burdens, and noticed the favourable state of the revenue.” Both houses were reminded of the reasons so often urged for commencing the war, and were earnestly exhorted to continue their exertions against the enemy. In the house of peers, lord Stair moved the address to his majesty upon the speech, and was seconded by lord Auckland. In this debate lord Spencer and lord Mansfield were particularly forward and strenuous in support of the war, and in favor of the address. Lord Guilford, the duke of Norfolk, and the marquis of Lansdowne, were most distinguished for a formidable opposition against it. Upon the division there appeared only 12 for the amendment to the address, which had been proposed by lord Guilford—against it 97. So small a number were now reduced the peers who were to oppose the system of this fatal war.

IV. In the commons lord Clifden moved the address of thanks, and was seconded by sir Peter Burrell. The most distinguished advocate for administration on this occasion was lord Mornington, the chief source of whose influence appeared to be a pamphlet published by the unfortunate Brissot some short time previous to his death.

His lordship contended, " that the alternative of peace and war did not at present exist. Before we could relinquish the principles on which the war commenced, proof was necessary, either that the opinions we had conceived of the views of France were erroneous—that the war was become desperate and impracticable—or that, from some improvement in the system and principles of the French, the justice and necessity which prompted us to commence the war no longer co-operated. His lordship ascribed to France unlimited views of aggrandizement; ambition connected with principles subversive of all regular government. In support of this opinion, he adduced the act of fraternity—the assumption of sovereignty in Savoy and the Netherlands—the opening of the Scheld, and the apparent designs of hostility against Holland. That such were their motives his lordship contended from the pamphlet of Brissot—from the conduct of the French residents in America and Constantinople—and from the scheme of emancipating and arming the negroes in the West Indies. From all these proofs his lordship was fully convinced that the original justice and necessity of the war had received additional confirmation from subsequent events. With respect to the invincibility of the French, his lordship compared the situation in which we stood at the commencement of the campaign with the present time; and declared, that the campaign in Flanders had been productive of the most considerable acquisitions both of territory and revenue, which this country had ever obtained in one year in that quarter. The prospect abroad was he thought, equally favourable. His lordship entered into a history of the French revolution from the overthrow of the Brissotine faction, and of the internal state of France. He detailed the atrocities of the French, and represented the existing government as the utmost excess of tyranny. He then commented at great length on the system of finance, which he conceived to be in the most ruinous state, and spoke of the abolition of religion, being less beneficial to their treasury than was generally supposed. His lordship proceeded further to explain the regulations

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regulations of the French respecting agriculture, com-  
merce, and trade; contrasted their situation with that of the  
English, in the minds of whom there was a general con-  
viction that they were all involved in the issue of the pre-  
sent contest, and they therefore felt a firm determination  
to prosecute it with vigor. From all these his lordship  
deduced the strongest hopes of a favourable issue to the  
war. The next point to be considered was, whether we  
could secure ourselves from the inroad of the tyrannical  
system of France by any other means than the continu-  
ance of our present exertions? In proportion as this sys-  
tem of tyranny consumed the property of France, it must  
endeavour to repair its disordered finances by foreign  
plunder. It must be the immediate interest of a govern-  
ment, founded upon principles contrary to those of sur-  
rounding nations, to propagate the doctrines abroad by  
which it subsisted at home, and to subvert every constitution  
which can form a disadvantageous contrast to its own ab-  
surdities. Nothing can secure us against the violence of  
the French, but an effectual reduction of their present  
power. A peace founded upon any other principles would  
not only be illusory, but produce the most fatal conse-  
quences to all our most valuable interests. Nor would  
the French treat with us for peace, without the surrender  
of every advantage we had gained by the war, and a full  
recognition of the sovereignty of the people: we must  
acknowledge the right of France to the duchy of Savoy,  
and resign to her the Netherlands and the principality of  
Liege. National honor, and a sense of our immediate  
interest, forbade such a measure. After such concessions  
what further indignities might we not expect? Were  
the French to concede any of these points, which was not  
probable, since it had been declared death to propose an  
infraction of these preliminary articles, the whole trans-  
action would, on the first favourable occasion, be imputed  
as a crime to those who had conducted it; the stipulations  
of a treaty, commenced in open defiance of the law, would  
be easily annulled, and we should discover too late our fatal  
error, in having relaxed our efforts, precisely at the most  
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critical period of the war, for the purpose of negotiating with a government utterly unable to fulfil its engagements. His lordship did not however conceive that the French had any desire to enter into engagements of that kind with us; he thought we had the most reasonable prospect of ultimate success; and that not only the characters, the dispositions, and the interests of those who exercised the powers of government in France, but the very nature of that system they had established, rendered a treaty of peace upon safe and honorable terms impracticable at present, and consequently required a vigorous and unremitting prosecution of the war.

V. The oration of lord Mornington drew from Mr. Sheridan the following remarks by way of reply. "He admired," he said, "the emphasis of the noble lord, in reading his voluminous extracts from his various French documents; he admired too the ingenuity he had displayed in his observations on those extracts; but most of all he admired, that the noble lord should have taken up so much time in quoting passages, in which not one in ten was to the purpose. No part of the king's speech, it seems, had more fully met the approbation of the noble lord, than that in which he warned us to *keep in sight the real grounds and origin of the war*. For his part he knew not how to keep in sight what had never been in his view. The noble lord, however, appeared to understand his majesty's allusion, and to recollect the means by which we had been brought into the war. We had been brought into it by repeated declamations on all that the frenzy, the folly, and rashness of individuals in France had either said or written, by which the passions of this country could be roused, or their fears excited, in order to second the views of those who had determined to plunge us into the war at all events. The noble lord conceived, that a repetition of the same means which had induced us to commence hostilities, was also the best means to persuade us to continue them. Hence, the farrago of well known extracts and anecdotes from the noble lord. But what was the sum? That enormities  
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had been committed in France, which disgusted and sickened the soul. This was most true; but what relation had these to England? And, if they had, what did it prove? What, but that eternal and unalterable truth, that a long established despotism so far degraded and debased human nature, as to render its subjects, on the first recovery of their rights, unfit for the exercise of them? But he should always meet with reprobation the inference from this truth, that those who had long been slaves ought ever to continue so. That we and all the powers of Europe had reason to dread the madness of the French, Mr. Sheridan agreed; but was this difficult to be accounted for? Wild and unsettled as they must necessarily be from the possession of such power, the surrounding states had goaded them into a paroxysm of madness, fury, and desperation. We first made them savage, and then hunted them as monsters. The conspiracy of Pilnitz, and the brutal threats of the abettors of that plot, had to answer for all the additional horrors that had since disgraced humanity. We had covenanted for their extermination, and now complained that they returned upon us with the fury that we had inspired. The noble lord, after dwelling so long on the pamphlet of Brissot, draws this important conclusion, that the government adopted by France cannot stand. "I agree," said he, "to his conclusion, and what remains but to leave it to the natural workings of those discords it is calculated to engender? If it will not stand of itself, it is unnecessary to attack it. The noble lord has attempted to shew from his pamphlet, that France has not only been the aggressor in this war, but that she is still desirous of continuing hostilities. His quotations have, however, only proved that after a short experience all parties retracted their opinions and practices; and so far from having boasted of provoking a war with England, the strongest reproach that the different factions could throw against each other, was the accusation of being necessary to involving the country in a war with the only power in Europe with whom France was eager to con-  
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tinue at peace. All this was plain from the quotations of the noble lord; and the pamphlet proved to a certainty that both parties were earnest to avoid a rupture with England; and that there are none who may not at this moment be reasonably supposed well inclined to put a stop to hostilities. The noble lord," continued Mr. Sheridan, "thinks he has established a great deal in proving that all parties of the convention were fond of the system of fraternizing. The noble lord would have been more candid had he dated the origin of the system; it would not have been less fair to have noticed that this system has been totally abandoned. If he refers to it, as a just motive for our entertaining a jealousy of them, he ought to admit their abandonment of it as a ground for our abandoning that jealousy. If their professing such a doctrine was a provocation to hostility on our part, their retracting it is an opening to reconciliation. From the moment they solemnly disavowed all intention or disposition to interfere in the governments of other nations, why should not we have renounced any intention of interfering in their's? But instead of this, what has been our conduct? We continue to remind and reproach the French with their unjust and insolent conduct in respect to Brabant and Geneva, at the same time we adopt ourselves, and act upon the very principles they have abjured, or rather upon principles of still more extravagant insolence and injustice. Who did not reprobate the folly and profligacy of endeavouring to force upon the people of Brabant French forms, French principles, and French creeds? of dragging them to the tree of liberty, and forcing them to dance round its roots or to hang upon its branches? But what has been the conduct of Great Britain, so loud in the condemnation of such tyranny under the mask of liberty? What has been her conduct to Genoa? to Switzerland? to Tuscany? and, as far as she dared, to Denmark and Sweden? for her insolence has been accompanied by its usual attendant, meanness. Her injustice has been without magnanimity. She wished to embark the world in a

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confederacy against France, the moment she thought proper to join it: the neutrality, of which she herself boasted but a month before, became instantly a heinous crime in any other state of Europe. And how has she proceeded? With those that are powerful, and whose assistance would have been important, she has expostulated and prevaricated; but in how little, as well as odious a light has she appeared when threatening and insulting those petty states, whose least disobedience to her tyrannic mandates might bring great peril on themselves, and whose utmost efforts could give but little aid to the allies? The noble lord has, with a just indignation, execrated the *cruel* and *perfidious* conduct of the fraternizing French to the Brabanters; but will he defend the fraternity of the *just* and *magnanimous* English to the Genoese? Have we not adopted the very words, as well as spirit of democratic tyranny? We say to the timid helpless Genoese, 'you have no right to judge for yourselves; we know what is best for you; you *must* and *shall* make a common cause with us; you must adopt *our* principles, *our* views, *our* hatreds, and *our* perils; you must tremble at dangers which do not threaten you, and resent injuries which have never been offered to you: you must shed your republican blood in the cause of royalty; in short, you must *fraternize* with us, you must be our *friends*, our *allies*. If you hesitate, we will beat your walls about your ears; slaughter your people, and leave your city in smoking ruins, in example to other petty states of the magnanimity of the British arms, and of the justice and moderation of the British counsels!" With respect to Genet's unwarrantable desire to introduce a fraternizing spirit into America, Mr. Sheridan noticed the very different conduct pursued by that state and the court of London. "Both," he said, "had been equally insulted; attempts had been equally made to spread the sentiments of the republic; yet from the different counsels that directed the two nations, America remained undismayed, undegraded, and unembarrassed spectator

tator of the broils of Europe; while we are engaged in a struggle, which we are this day told by ministers, is not for our glory and prosperity, but for our actual existence as a nation." Mr. Sheridan next noticed the opinion of the noble lord, founded upon Brissot's pamphlet, in which the minister Monge is mentioned as having promised in October to have thirty ships of the line at sea from Brest in April, and fifty in July, that the French had always intended to make war against us.— This, however, was prevented by the *vigorous* measures of ministry. What were these vigorous measures of a vigilant ministry, that defeated the equipment of fifty ships of the line? They stopt two corn ships bound for France! But how came it to pass, if our ministers had this intelligence in October, that no naval preparations were commenced on our part till February? The noble lord, still pursuing his authority, Brissot, quotes that author's recommendation to the English of a pamphlet of Condorcet's, addressed to our parliamentary reformers, who encourages us, it seems, to proceed, to disregard numbers, assuring us (being doubtless well informed of our object) that revolutions must always be the work of the minority. Every revolution is the work of a minority. The French revolution was accomplished by the minority! Nay, according to Brissot, it was the work of not more than twenty men! Such is the exertion that arises from the confidence of those who look to spirit and energy alone for success, and not to numbers.— "If this be true," continued Mr. Sheridan, "it certainly is a most ominous thing for the enemies of reform in England; for if it holds true of necessity, that the minority still prevails in national contests, it must be a consequence, that the smaller the minority, the more certain must be the success. In what a dreadful situation then must the noble lord be, and all the alarmists for never, surely, was the minority so small, so thin in number, as the present. Conscious, however, that Condorcet was mistaken in our object, I am glad to find that we are terrible in proportion as we are few; I rejoice



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joice that the liberality of secession, which has thinned our ranks, has only served to make us more formidable. The alarmists will hear this with new apprehensions; they will, no doubt, return to us with a view to diminish our force, and encumber us with their alliance, in order to reduce us to insignificance. But what has the nonsense any French pamphleteer may have written, or the notions he may have formed of the views of parties in this country, to do with the question? or how can it be gravely urged as a proof of the determination of the French people to attack us?" Mr. Sheridan, in continuation, contended, "that the arguments deduced by the noble lord to prove the hostile disposition of France towards this country, were nugatory, or worse, as they in some instances proved the direct contrary. In support of this opinion, he appealed to facts, to prove the growing inveteracy of our minister from the beginning of the revolution to the death of the king—the treaty of Pilnitz—the departure of our ambassador from Paris—the seizure of French property in neutral vessels—the banishing of French subjects—the violation of the treaty of commerce—the dismissal of the French ambassador.—Notwithstanding these provocations the French solicited, expostulated, sent another negotiator, and abstained from the invasion of Holland, when their arms appeared irresistible. Every fact declared that we forced France into the quarrel. Which party first said the words, 'we are at war,' was a trivial and childish distinction.—Granting, then, this to be a war of sound sense, policy, and justice, still," said he, "it was a war of choice on the part of Great Britain, and from that responsibility the minister nor can nor shall disengage himself." Mr. Sheridan then proceeded to state, that all the professed objects of the war were obtained, and that there was no doubt of the readiness of the French to treat with us upon the principle of being left to the exercise of their own will within their own boundaries. "Let the experiment be made. If they prefer and persist in war, then I will grant that the noble lord will have some rea-

son to maintain, that their minds were always disposed to that measure, and that war could not have been avoided on our part. But, till then, I am astonished that the minister, who sits near to the noble lord, does not feel it necessary to his own dignity, to oppose himself this paltry argument of the act of aggression having come from them, instead of leaving that task to us, to whom, comparatively, the fact is indifferent. When he hears this called a war of necessity and defence, I wonder he does not feel ashamed of the meanness which it spreads over the whole of his cause, and the contradiction it throws among the greater part of his arguments. Will he meet the matter fairly? Will he answer to this one question distinctly? If France had abstained from any act of aggression against Great Britain, and her ally, Holland, should we have remained inactive spectators of the last campaign, idle, apart, and listening to the fray; and left the contest to Austria and Prussia, and whatever allies they could themselves have obtained? If he says this, mark the dilemma into which he brings himself, his supporters, and the nation.—This war is called a war unlike all others that ever man was engaged in. It is a war, it seems, commenced on a different principle, and carried on for a purpose different from all other wars: it is a war in which the interests of individual nations are absorbed in the wider considerations of the interests of mankind: it is a war in which personal provocation is lost in the outrage offered generally to civilized man: it is a war for the preservation of the possessions, the morals, and the religion of the world: it is a war for the maintenance of human order, and the existence of human society. Does he then mean to say, that he would have sat still, that Great Britain would have sat still, with arms folded and reclining in luxurious ease on her commercial couch, have remained an unconcerned spectator of this mighty conflict, and have left the cause of civil order, government, morality, and religion, to take care of itself, to owe its preservation to the mercenary exertions of

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German and Hungarian barbarians, provided only that France had not implicated Great Britain by a special offence, and *forced* us into this cause of divine and universal interest by the petty motive of a personal provocation? He will not tell us so; or, if he does, to answer the purpose of the hour, will he hold the same language to our allies? Will he speak thus to the emperor? Will he speak thus to the king of Prussia? Will he tell them that we are not volunteers in this cause? that we have no merit in having entered into it? that we are in confederacy with them only to resent a separate insult offered to ourselves, which redressed, our zeal in the cause at least, if not our engagements to continue in the alliance, must cease? Or if he would hold this language to those powers, will he repeat it to those lesser states whom we are hourly dragging into this perilous contest, upon the only plea by which such an act of tyrannical compulsion can be attempted to be palliated, namely, 'that a personal ground of complaint against the French is not necessary to their enmity; but that, as the league against that people is the cause of human nature *itself*, every country where human feelings exist, has already received its provocation in the atrocities of this common enemy of human-kind? But why do I ask him if he would hold this language to the emperor or the king of Prussia? The king of Prussia, sir, at this moment tells you, even with a menacing tone, that it is your own war; he has demanded from you a subsidy and a loan; you have endeavoured to evade his demand by pleading the tenor of your treaty of defensive alliance with him, and that, as the party attacked, you are entitled to the whole of his exertions: he denies that you are the party attacked, though he applauds the principles upon which you are the aggressor; and is there another power in Europe to whom our government will venture to refer the decision of the question? If what I now state is not the fact, let me see the minister stand up and contradict me. If he cannot, let us no longer hear that a fallacy should be attempted to be imposed

on the people of this country, which would be treated with scorn and indignation in every other corner of Europe. From this hour let him either abandon the narrow ground of this being a war of necessity, entered into for self-defence, or give up the lofty boast of its being a war of principle, undertaken for the cause of human nature." Mr. Sheridan asked, "whether our arms were likely to produce in France a government that would give a reasonable expectation of duration and security to peace? Nothing could produce this but the reformation and union of the nation of France: and then they may prescribe their own terms, we must lie at their mercy. Let me ask," said he, "whether, with all our boast of having weakened the French in the last campaign, the allies were nearer to the object they had in view than they were at the commencement of the war? Our first expectations were founded on the great body of French royalists, who were now destroyed and annihilated. Our second hope was derived from the two contending factions in France. But what has happened? To the astonishment of the world, the weaker of these two factions has not only extinguished the other, but the conquering party appear from that moment to have possessed not only more powers, more energy, and more confidence than any of their predecessors, but even a vigor and fascination of influence unparalleled in the history of mankind. We were told also that the system of disgusting and cashiering all the old experienced officers must create insubordination and mutiny in the army, bring down the vengeance of the soldiers upon the convention, and establish a military tyranny. Yet the reverse was the fact: notwithstanding repeated provocation, there was scarcely an instance of military revolt against any of the decrees. The means of supporting these armies, we are told, could not last half the campaign; but the fact flatly contradicted the expectation. Thus disappointed in our negative resources, let us endeavour to find a compensation in the increased strength and spirit of the grand alliance. What was the state of the allies, when we entered into

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the confederacy? The force of Austria unbroken, though compelled to abandon Brabant, and the power of the veteran troops of Prussia absolutely untried, though the seasons and disease had induced them to retire from Champagne. What is their state now? Defeat has thinned their ranks, and disgrace has broken their spirit. They have been driven across the Rhine by French recruits, like sheep before a lion's whelp, and that not after the mishap of a single action lost, but after a succession of bloody contests of unprecedented fury and obstinacy. Where now is the scientific confidence with which we were taught to regard the efforts of discipline and experience, when opposed to an untrained multitude and unpractised generals? The jargon of professional pedantry is mute, and the plain sense of man is left to its own course. But have the efforts of our other allies made amends for the misfortunes of these two principles in the confederacy? Have the valor and activity of the Dutch by land and sea exceeded our expectations? Has the Portuguese squadron lessened the extent and lightened the expence of our naval exertions? Have the Italian states, whom we have bribed or bullied into our cause, made any sensible impression on the common enemy? Has our great ally the empress of Russia contributed hitherto any thing to the common cause, except her praises and her prayers? Are all or any of them in better spirits to act effectually than they were at the commencement of the last campaign? But let me," said he, "throw all these considerations aside, each one of which, however, would singly outweigh the whole of the advantages placed in the opposite scale as gained by the allies, and let me ask, is it nothing that the great and momentous experiment has been made, and that a single nation, roused by a new and animating energy, and defending what they conceive to be their liberty, has proved itself to be a match for the enmity and arms of the world? Is the pride which success in such a conflict gives to the individual heart of every man who has shared in it, to be estimated as nothing? Are the triumphs and rewards, which the

politic prodigality of their government heaps on the meanest of the ranks who suffer or distinguish themselves in their battles, fruitless and of no effect? Or, finally, are we to hold as a matter of slight consideration, the daring and enthusiastic spirit, solicitous of danger and perils of death, which gradually kindled by all these circumstances, but which has now spread with electrical rapidity among such a race of people, so placed, so provided, and so provoked? Be he who he may that has reflected on all these circumstances, either singly or in the aggregate, and shall still say that the allies are at this moment nearer the attainment of their professed object than at the commencement of the last campaign, I say that man's mind is either clouded by passion or corrupted by interest, or his intellects were never straightly framed. In corroboration of his general position, the noble lord next details to us the manner in which they have either neglected or oppressed their commerce. I have no doubt but that all he has stated on this subject is true, and that they have done it possibly upon system. I should not be surprised to hear that some distinguished senator in that country, with a mind at once heated and contracted by brooding over one topic of alarm, had started up in the convention and exclaimed, 'Perish our commerce, live our constitution!' nor more should I be surprised to learn, that the mass of the people, bowing to his authority, or worked on by fictitious alarms and fabricated rumours of plots, seditions, and insurrections, should have improved upon this patriotic exhortation, and, agreeing that their constitution was certainly to be preferred to their commerce, should have conceived that they could not thoroughly shew the fervor of their zeal for the former, so well as by an unnecessary sacrifice of the latter. Whether the hint of this notable axiom was taken from the expressions of any enlightened member of our commercial senate, or whether it was imported into this house from France, is what I cannot take upon me to decide. The only result worth our consideration is, that however their neglect of commerce may have a-

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bridged them of the luxuries and even comforts of life, it has not hitherto curtailed them in the means of military preparation, or slackened the sinews of war." Mr. Sheridan then proceeded to mention what he thought an unfair statement of the noble lord respecting the levies made in France for the support of the war, and contended that they were only designed to answer present purposes, and to subside as soon as a peace should take place. "The noble lord," said he, "not content with the unfairness of overlooking all the circumstances which imperious necessity must inevitably impose upon a country circumstanced as France is, thinks it fair and candid to contrast the proceedings of their convention on the subject of supply and finance, with the proceedings of the British minister, and of the British parliament! *We*, it seems, assist commerce instead of oppressing it. *We* lend the credit of our public exchequer to our private merchants: and for the means of carrying on the war, not even voluntary contributions are expected, unless it be in little female keep-sakes for the army, of gloves, mittens, night-caps, and under-waistcoats. Certainly the contrast between the French means of supply and ours is obvious, and long may it continue so! But the noble lord pursued his triumph on this subject too far. Not content with simply alluding to it, which one would have imagined might have answered all his purposes, he endeavours to impress it more forcibly on our minds, by making a regular speech for our chancellor of the exchequer, and exultingly demanding what we should say, if his right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) were to come down and propose to the British parliament such ways and means as the minister of finance in France was compelled to resort to? What should we think if he were to rise and propose, that all persons who had money or property in an unproductive state should lend it without interest to the public? If he were to propose, that all who had saved incomes from the bounty of the state should refund what they had received? What, finally, if all persons possessing fortunes of any size were called upon to give

give up the whole during the war, or reserve to themselves only the means of subsistence, or at the utmost one hundred and eighty pounds a year? Upon my word, sir, I agree with the noble lord, that if his right honourable friend were to come down to us with any such proposition, he would not long retain his present situation. And with such a consequence inevitable, he need not remind us, that there is no great danger of our chancellor of the exchequer making any such experiment, any more than of the most zealous supporters of the war in this country vying in their contributions with the abettors of republicanism in France. I can more easily fancy another sort of speech for our prudent minister. I can more easily conceive him modestly comparing himself and his own measures with the character and conduct of his rival, and saying "Do I demand of you, wealthy citizens, to lend *your* hoards to government without interest? On the contrary, when I shall come to propose a loan, not a man of you to whom I shall not hold out at least a job in every part of the subscription, and an usurious profit upon every pound you devote to the necessities of your country. Do I demand of *you*, my fellow placemen and brother pensioners, that you should sacrifice any part of your stipends to the public exigency? On the contrary, am I not daily increasing your emoluments and your numbers in proportion as the country becomes unable to provide for you? Do I require of *you*, my latest and most zealous proselytes, of *you*, who have come over to me for the special purpose of supporting the war—a war, on the success of which you solemnly protest that the salvation of Britain, and civil society itself, depends—Do I require of *you*, that you should make a temporary sacrifice in the cause of human nature of the greater part of your private incomes? No, gentlemen, I scorn to take advantage of the eagerness of your zeal, and to prove that I think the sincerity of your zeal and attachment to me needs no such test, I will make your interest co-operate with your principles; I will quarter many of you upon the public supply, instead of calling

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en you to contribute to it; and while their whole thoughts are absorbed in patriotic apprehensions for their country, I will dextrously force upon others the favourite objects of the vanity or ambition of their lives." After inveighing with the keenest irony, and at much length against the minister, and the deserters of his own party, he entered into the question so frequently urged, "with whom shall we treat?" With those who have the power of the French government in their hands. "I never will disdain," said he, "to treat with those on whom I make war, and surely no wise nation ought to persevere in the idle disdain of a negotiation with those who are a match for them in war." Mr. Sheridan entered into a detail of all the proceedings of the campaign, to shew that government had not displayed a single exertion becoming the dignity of the nation, or calculated to accomplish the object of the war. After detailing several instances of apparent mismanagement, he concluded by saying, "that he thought it a duty he owed his constituents and his country, to inquire into our own object in the war, and those of our allies, who evidently had views very different from what Great Britain could be supposed to entertain."

VI. Mr. Windham defended lord Mornington against the accusation of not having spoken to the question. He combated the opinion that the enormities committed in France were the effects of the war. "It was," he said, "the duty of every government to interfere, for France was making war against all government, all religion, and all principle. How was it possible to preserve peace with a nation, which formed a ground for quarrel with every government that dared to suspect the purity of their intentions? Whatever might be understood as the binding law upon nations carrying on offensive war with respect to interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, he conceived that such opinions could not affect a nation sustaining a defensive war. Standing," said he, "as we do, the *defenders of the present and future world*, ought we meanly to crouch in cowardice, or sink in despair?"

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He conceived it more than ever necessary to prosecute the war with vigor.

VII. Mr. Fox, endeavoured in vain to convince the house of the folly and danger of persevering in the war. He began by expressing an earnest desire of knowing for what purpose we were engaged in a war. "From the speech of the noble lord," he said, "he now understood that while the jacobin government existed in France, no propositions for peace could be made or received by us. The chancellor of the exchequer, though he reprobated a jacobin government, had in the former year declared, *that* would be no bar to a negotiation, provided the safety of Holland and the navigation of the Scheld were secured. He actually opened a negotiation with persons holding their authority from the jacobin government of France, with Dumourier and Chauvelin. Had peace, in consequence of these negotiations been then preserved, what would have become of that reasoning? He should be told, perhaps, a peace was not the object they had in view. The truth of this was indeed proved by the haughty conduct of lord Grenville towards Chauvelin: ministers began a negotiation which they had no design to perfect; they only sought a pretence for reconciling the minds of the people to a war, in which they had previously determined to embark. The object was then said to be, to protect an ally; the real object was the subversion of the ruling power in France. Is it then at last decided, that we are to stake the wealth, the commerce, and the constitution of Great Britain on the chance of compelling France to renounce certain opinions, for which we have already seen they are prepared to sacrifice their lives?" Mr. Fox contended, that every state had a full right to regulate its internal government; and asserted, that the manifesto of the duke of Brunswick and the treaty of Pilnitz had occasioned all the excesses of the French. Upon the subject of acts of aggression previous to the war this difference subsisted. France was always ready to negotiate; the British government invariably refused. The former expressed the

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strongest dislike to war, and took every step to avoid it; the latter not only shewed an inclination for war, but endeavoured to inflame and provoke hostilities. Mr. Fox proceeded to consider whether such a peace with France as might be attainable was of that nature which ought to induce us to treat; and whether a failure in the negotiation would be attended with such dangerous consequences, as ought to deter us from hazarding the attempt. He noticed the great difference of our conduct with respect to France and Poland; and called the attention of the house to the nature of every peace that had ever been made. What offence or what pretension had appeared on the part of France at present towards this country, which had not occurred in the reign of Louis XIV? That monarch was a declared enemy to our revolution; he corresponded with the jacobites of England; he endeavoured to overturn our establishment in church and state; he invaded Holland, and confined not his projects of conquest to the banks of the Rhine. Let us be satisfied with the best security we can procure, taking care by our vigilance and conduct, that the power with whom it is made shall have no temptation to break it. Were France to accede to our wishes, and take Louis XVII. for their king, would ministers in making a peace cede to them the places they have taken? No, the secretary of state says, we must have an indemnification for our expences in the war. What then would be the language of the French nation? They would complain of the deprivation, and seize the first opportunity of again entering upon a war. What security are we to have for peace, even upon the terms prescribed by ministers? He pointedly ridiculed the boast of victory in his majesty's speech, and said, if the advantages were such as were represented, we could assume the dignified character of dictating the terms of peace. It had been said, that our object in the West Indies was to obtain some indemnification for the expences of war. This, however, was a distinct object from giving such a government to France as ministers might think it safe to treat

treat with, and in some respects contradictory. Whatever islands we took for Louis XVII. we must wish to keep; and, as we wished to keep the islands, must wish that Louis XVII. who would have a right to demand them, should not be restored. Since the close of the last session of parliament, the successes of the French against both their internal and external enemies had been such, that there was no probability of soon, if at all, vanquishing that country. With respect to what had been urged of the ruinous state of their finances, he remembered similar statements had been made during the American war. There was then much talk of a vagrant congress, which was no where to be found, of their miserable resources, and their wretched paper money, at three hundred per cent. discount, of which, with any few halfpence you had in your pocket, you might purchase to the amount of one hundred dollars. The Americans were represented as exercising on each other the most intolerable tyranny, on the Royalists the most unheard of cruelties; and it was then said, that if such principles were suffered to exist, if the cause of America was ultimately successful, there was an end of all civilized government; and England must be trodden in the dust. "Yet then" said this great statesman, "I recommended negotiation, and lived to see Great Britain treat with that very congress, so often vilified and abused, and the monarchy remain in sufficient vigor. God grant that I may not see her treat with the existing government of France in circumstances less favorable for making peace than the present!" Mr. Fox then endeavoured to shew, that by a negotiation for peace we might gain much, and could lose little. We should at least gain the point in this country of having it generally believed that the war was defensive; we should diminish the enthusiasm of the French, who would be disgusted with the refusal of the jacobins to treat. Mr. Fox strongly insisted on the misconduct of ministers in the prosecution of the war, and particularly noticed the failure of the expedition against Dunkirk, and the evacuation of Toulon. "A plan was project-

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ed," said he, "for making a descent on the coast of France, under the command of the earl of Moira. When we ask why that expedition was so long talked of, and never undertaken, the secretary of state tells us, that it was delayed for want of troops. What, when we had at last hit upon a plan which was to conduct us to the gates of Paris, were we obliged to abandon it for the want of men? Were no Hanoverians, Hessians, or even Austrians, to be found? Miserable indeed must be the alliances contracted by the minister, if neither those whose cause he had undertaken to support, nor those whom he had taken into his pay, would furnish him with men sufficient for an expedition, the success of which might have redeemed so many miscarriages! did he defer that expedition till winter, because the difficult navigation of the coast of Normandy was peculiarly safe at that season? Or did he choose to delay it, because then the prince of Cobourg would be unable to act, and of consequence the French troops in that quarter would be disengaged? Thus, with a spirit worthy of a British minister, magnanimously displaying his contempt of danger, and his disdain to take the enemy at a disadvantage, defying every obstacle of the season, and braving the collected force of their armies." Knowing these transactions, he asserted, "that it would be the most contemptible sycophancy to concur in an address to his majesty, in which it was stated that the war had been successful. With respect to the avidity with which different states had put themselves under our protection, the duke of Tuscany had been compelled by menaces; our conduct to the Genoese had been modelled on the same principles; the Swiss cantons were prohibited from holding any intercourse with France. The courts of Sweden and Denmark had the wisdom and firmness to resist every art and menace to induce them to relinquish their system of neutrality. At the time when ministers were inveighing against the French as invaders of the rights of nations, they were themselves daringly infringing the rights of independent states. They issued an order for seizing on American

vessels bound to the West Indies, and have only retracted it from a dread of the power of that country. How infinitely superior must appear the spirit and principles of general Washington, in his late address to the congress, compared with the policy of modern European courts! Illustrious man! deriving honor less from the splendor of his situation, than from the dignity of his mind, before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance, and all the princes and potentates of Europe (excepting the members of our own royal family) become little and contemptible! He has indeed no occasion to have recourse to any tricks of policy or arts of alarm; his authority has been sufficiently supported by the same means by which it was acquired; and his conduct has uniformly been characterised by wisdom, moderation, and firmness. He, feeling gratitude to France for the assistance received from her in that great contest which secured the independence of America, did not choose to give up the system of neutrality in favor of this country. Having once laid down that line of conduct, which both gratitude and policy pointed out as the most proper to be pursued, not all the insults or provocation of the French minister Genet could in the least put him out of his way or bend him from his purpose. Entrusted with the care of the welfare of a great people, he did not allow the misconduct of another, with respect to himself, for one moment to interrupt the duty which he owed to them, or withdraw his attention from their interests. He had no fear of the jacobins; he felt no alarm from their principles, and considered no precaution as necessary to stop their progress. The people over whom he presided he knew to be acquainted with their rights and their duties. He trusted to their own good sense to defeat the effect of those arts which might be employed to inflame or mislead their minds; and was sensible that a government could be in no danger, while it retained the attachment and confidence of its subjects—attachment in this instance not blindly adopted, confidence not implicitly given, but arising from the conviction of its excellence, and the experience

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rience of its blessings. I cannot indeed help admiring the wisdom and the fortune of this great man; not that by the phrase *fortune* I mean in the smallest degree to derogate from his merit. But, notwithstanding his extraordinary talents and exalted integrity, it must be considered as singularly fortunate, that he should have experienced a lot which so seldom falls to the portion of humanity, and have passed through such a variety of scenes, without stain and without reproach. It must indeed create astonishment, that placed in circumstances so critical, and filling for a series of time a station so conspicuous, his character should never once have been called in question; that he should in no one instance have been accused either of improper insolence, or of mean submission in his transactions with foreign nations. It has been reserved for him to run the race of glory, without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career. The breath of censure has not dared to impeach the purity of his conduct, nor the eye of envy to raise its malignant glance to the elevation of his virtues. Such has been the transcendent merit and unparalleled fate of this illustrious man! But if the maxims now held forth were adopted, he who ranks as the assertor of his country's freedom, and the guardian of its interests and honor, would be deemed to have disregarded and betrayed that country, and to have entailed upon himself indelible reproach. How did he act when insulted by Genet? Did he consider it as necessary to avenge himself for the misconduct or madness of an individual, by involving a whole continent in the horrors of war? No; he contented himself with procuring satisfaction for the insult, by causing Genet to be recalled; and thus at once consulted his own dignity and the interests of his country. Happy Americans! while the whirlwind flies over one quarter of the globe, and spreads every where desolation, you remain protected from its baneful effects by your own virtues and the wisdom of your government. Separated from Europe by an immense ocean, you feel not the effects of those prejudices and passions

which convert the boasted seats of civilization into scenes of horror and bloodshed. You profit by the folly and madness of the contending nations, and afford in your more congenial clime an asylum to those blessings and virtues which they wantonly condemn, or wickedly exclude from their bosom! Cultivating the arts of peace under the influence of freedom, you advance by rapid strides to opulence and distinction; and if by any accident you should be compelled to take part in the present unhappy contest, if you should find it necessary to avenge insult, or repel injury, the world will bear witness to the equity of your sentiments and the moderation of your views; and the success of your arms will, no doubt, be proportioned to the justice of your cause!—I have now nothing more with which to trouble the house; I am sensible, indeed, that at this advanced hour I have already detained them too long. But I was anxious to put the question upon its true footing, and to free it from that misrepresentation in which it has been so studiously involved. We have of late been too much accustomed to invective and declamation; addresses to our prejudices and passions have been substituted for appeals to our reason. But we are met here, not to declaim against the crimes of other states, but to consult what are the true interests of this country. The question is not, what degree of abhorrence we ought to feel of French cruelty, but what line of conduct we ought to pursue, consistently with British policy. Whatever our detestation of the guilt of foreign nations, we are not called to take upon ourselves the task of avengers; we are bound only to act as guardians of the welfare of those with whose concerns we are immediately entrusted. It is upon this footing I have argued the question.” Mr. Fox concluded by proposing an amendment recommending to his majesty to treat for a peace with France upon safe and honorable terms, without any reference to its existing form of government.

VIII. Mr. Pitt observed that the amendment negatived the address. He recapitulated the arguments of lord Mornington, to prove that the aggression had taken place

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on the part of France. He mentioned the system adopted by the French, as subversive of all regular government. Their usurpation of foreign territory, their hostile intentions against Holland, and their unprecedented views of aggrandizement and ambition. Unless it could be proved that we had mistaken these principles, we were bound to continue the war; and, supposing that difficulty and disappointment had occurred in the prosecution of it, they ought to inspire us with additional vigour, and stimulate us to new exertions. Had there been any misconduct, (of which he was not sensible) in conducting the war, yet this could not affect the general question. If those difficulties arose from the want of abilities in those to whom the management was entrusted, let us resort to others; if the difficulty arose from the nature of the contest, then the argument against ministers would be much weakened. At the close of the last session he stated he had placed the termination of the war upon two circumstances, the being able to procure a secure and permanent peace, and an indemnity for the expences incurred. In order to accomplish those ends, he had suggested the propriety of an interference in the internal affairs of that country; and he vindicated the measure upon the ground of securing our own safety. The affairs of France had now come to such a crisis, that, while the present system continued, peace was less desirable to him than war under any disasters which he could possibly imagine. Mr. Pitt then recapitulated the heads of lord Mornington's speech, which he vindicated from the charge of declamation. He conceived there was not the least probability of the continuance of the present government of France. The efforts of the people had been merely the result of terror. They were supported by the most desperate resources, which could not possibly continue. The question of pursuing the war must depend upon the convenience with which it can be carried on; "but I," said Mr. Pitt, "have no hesitation in unequivocally declaring that the moment will never come, when I shall not think any alternative preferable to that of making peace with

with France, upon the system of its present rulers." He said he united with the honourable gentlemen in thinking that a safe and advantageous peace ought to be concluded; but the security and benefits of that peace must depend upon the establishment of a government essentially different from the present. He affirmed, that had Louis XIV. succeeded in his projects, what we should have suffered from him would have been a deliverance, compared with the consequences of success attending the present French system. He denied having attached the same degree of importance to the restoration of monarchy in France, as to the destruction of the present system. He attached importance to the former only as a form of government in which the greater part of the people would be disposed to concur. That form would afford us the best security for the permanence of peace. Mr. Pitt noticed the decree of the French, declaring their unity and indivisibility, to prove the impossibility of treating with them for peace, and urged the arguments to this effect adduced by lord Mornington. He did not hope for any more moderation in them from a change of parties. There could be no question but to resist, till such time as, by the blessings of providence upon our endeavours, we might secure the independence of this country, and the general interests of Europe. On a division for the address the numbers were, ayes 277, noes 59.

IX. The general discontent excited by the decisions of the court of justiciary in Scotland, in the cases of Messrs. Muir and Palmer, induced Mr. Adam to bring the business before parliament. Accordingly, on the tenth of March, he introduced a motion on this subject, of which he had given previous notice. "He proposed," he said, "on this occasion, to review the late proceedings of the supreme court of justiciary in Scotland, against Thomas Muir, and the trial of the circuit court of justiciary against the reverend Fysche Palmer. From the records he required he meant to question the legality of the sentences, and upon that doubt, as no appeal could lie from this questionable conviction, he proposed to move

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for a respectful address to the king, in favour of these unfortunate men." In discussing the subject, Mr. Adam maintained, with great strength of argument and legal knowledge, first, "That the crimes set forth in the indictments against Messrs. Muir and Palmer were called, in the law of Scotland, *leasing making*, which was properly a misdemeanor in the nature of a public libel, tending to affect the state, or disturb the government, and that their indictments charged no other crime." Secondly, "That transportation could not, by the law of Scotland, be legally inflicted for *leasing making*, the act of Anne 1703-4 having appropriated to that crime the punishment of fine, imprisonment, and *banishment* only; and that the annexing of the pain of death to the return from transportation was an aggravation not warranted by law." And thirdly, "That if the acts charged in the indictment do not constitute the crime of *leasing making*, the indictments charge no crime known to the law of Scotland." Mr. Adam said, "he had heard, and not without horror, that as new manners made new crimes, the court of justiciary being supreme, and, without appeal, could make law applicable to the occasion. This sort of doctrine had disgraced the star-chamber and high commission court. If it was possible to conceive that any court of judicature in this country, that boasted of its freedom, and of the pure administration of criminal justice, could have such a power, he must say that it violated all his ideas of the constitution of this country, and was an outrageous libel upon common sense. But Messrs. Muir and Palmer were charged in the indictments with no other crime than that which is in England the misdemeanor of libel, and he believed there were few present who would deny that their punishment exceeded all the bounds of sound discretion. There was a phrase in the Scotch law, which answered to what in English law was called accessory; the term was *art and part*. But by the Scotch law, the principal may be charged *art and part*. The prisoner is obliged to deliver in the list of witnesses he intends to call for his defence, a certain number of hours



hours previous to his trial, and yet the prosecutor is entitled to prove *art and part* from circumstances, though those circumstances are not contained in the indictment, and, in that case, he is not permitted to call any new witnesses against such new charge. This singular process was practised in the case of Mr. Muir: it was proved he had recommended 'Flower on the constitution of France,' and had uttered some expressions about reforming the abuses in the courts of law and judiciary, though neither of these had been articulated in the indictment. Mr. Adam contended that, by *art and part*, the indictment could only mean art and part of the crimes libelled, and not of any other crimes; yet the lord advocate had said, that under the terms *art and part* he could prove the sedition of the pannel's whole life, and draw into it every act of every kind. If so, he must aver that the man had not had a trial that ought to subject him to the dreadful punishment passed upon him in the sentence, which was illegal, arbitrary, and unwarrantable. Mr. Adam entered into an account of the jury, some of whom had excluded Mr. Muir from a society to which they belonged, in consequence of his approbation of Paine's Rights of Man, and were objected to by Mr. Muir on the ground that they were prejudiced, had declared their prejudice, and had acted upon it. They were however held to be fair jurors. The treatment of the witnesses was equally adverse to justice. John Russel, one of the defendant's witnesses, was sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment, because, in the commencement of his examination, he had not been able to mention the names of the persons who had spoken to him on the subject of the trial. Another witness for Mr. Muir who, from motives of conscience, hesitated at taking an oath, was ordered to be imprisoned perhaps for ever. After examining the whole business with the most anxious attention, Mr. Adam said, he must declare, in the most solemn manner, that he questioned the soundness of the discretion exercised in the court, in the sentence which they had passed. What was the crime? Misdemeanour.—What was the punishment?

Transportation

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Transportation—and that the most aggravated and afflict-  
ing known to the law—not to cultivated society, to an  
easy master and kind treatment, but to a desolate island,  
an inhospitable desert at the extremity of the earth, where  
all is rude and barbarous, where they are deprived of all  
communication with intelligent beings like themselves,  
where they can find no social pleasure, but are condemned  
to live with ruffians whom the gibbet has spared, and  
under a system of despotism, rendered necessary for the  
government of such a tribe. They have also to undergo  
the fatigues of a long voyage, in which many have pe-  
rished. After entering at much length into the whole of  
the case, Mr. Adam made a short but elegant conclusion.  
As to the motives which had induced him to come forward on  
this occasion. He had been led to the discussion, not from mo-  
tives of professional interest, not from personal knowledge of  
the sufferers, not from personal prejudice to the judges, whom  
he respected; not from his love of Paine, of whose writ-  
ings he had frankly declared his disapprobation; but be-  
cause he considered the equal distribution of criminal jus-  
tice as the best defence of public liberty, and because he  
believed the perversion of criminal jurisprudence was  
likely to be the forerunner of anarchy on the one side, or  
of despotism on the other."

X. The lord advocate entered into an elaborate defence  
of the Scotch judges, and said, "that the whole speech  
of the learned gentleman, as far as it respected the pro-  
ceedings in question, was founded on misrepresentation,  
misconception, or total ignorance of the law of Scot-  
land, and the practice of the Scotch courts. Messrs.  
Muir and Palmer had not been tried upon the charge of  
leasing making. When such daring, profligate, and  
abandoned proceedings had been entered upon, as those  
upon which they had been convicted, it had become his  
duty to look into all the old laws of Scotland upon those  
points: the result was, that, as Mr. Muir had been  
guilty of exciting persons to acts of sedition against the  
king and constitution, he could not indict him for leasing  
making, which, properly defined, meant the crime of tell-  
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ing lies of the king, his nobles, &c. Had he, however, been indicted for leasing making, that would not have altered the nature of his punishment. Mr. Adam had contended that there was a difference between banishment and transportation, the former of which only was the punishment for leasing making; but the law of Scotland knew no such distinction, and his lordship entered into a detail of the existing acts where these words occurred, and of the practice of the Scotch courts, in support of this assertion. With regard to what passed at the trial of Mr. Muir, the lord advocate said he asked the court to do nothing, but what it was bound to do by the strict rules of the laws of the country. He endeavoured to bring in facts which were not stated in the indictment. How far he was right in doing so, was a question for the house to determine, always taking it into their reflection, that it was not the law of England but the law of Scotland they were to be guided by. The learned gentleman totally misunderstood the law of Scotland, if he thought the Scotch lawyers were to plead as formally as they do in England. Such was not the practice of the law of Scotland. It was enough, by that law, if a charge was made out in general terms; and the time, by the common practice, in which the prosecutor insisted on any act of the defendant, was three months, within the time of which the prisoner had notice. The prosecutor was not bound to prove what he stated specifically; it was enough to prove that the nature of the charge generally was sufficient to entitle him to give evidence of speech, word, or letter. This doctrine applied to the case of the book called 'Flower on the constitution,' in the defendant's pocket. As to the objection against the jurymen, they had indeed united for the defence of the constitution. That disqualification might be equally against the first characters of the country. Unless it could be proved that traitors and seditious persons were the only proper jurors. This jury could not possibly be accused or impeached, since there only could be found two descriptions of persons—those who wished to support the constitution,

and

and those who wished to destroy it. With respect to the witness Russel, on being asked, whether any body had told or instructed him what to say on the occasion, he hesitated; and, upon a further investigation of the business, it appeared that he had held a conversation with some persons on this subject since his citation, and therefore his testimony was inadmissible. The defendant had lost nothing by the rejection of his witness; he only came to prove what twelve other witnesses had sworn, that Mr. Muir frequently desired the populace to behave peaceably, &c. These witnesses, his lordship had no doubt, had conferred upon the subject, and that was the reason they agreed so well in their testimony. As to the soundness or discretion of the court of justiciary, the sentence of transportation, and its excessive rigor, he felt himself bound to defend it under every circumstance. He had heard much of the superiority of English law, but in this case the law of Scotland was superior, and much better adapted, *in his opinion*, to suppress sedition."

XI. The motion was violently opposed by Mr. Windham, who did not hesitate to insinuate, that if the laws of England with respect to sedition were not found adequate to the restraint of offenders, they ought to be assimilated to the laws of Scotland. Mr. Fox followed Mr. Windham. "He considered," he said, "the present question as one of the most important that ever came before the house: a question which involved not only the sufferings of two oppressed individuals, but the consequences which would result to posterity by establishing a precedent dangerous and inimical to their liberties. Should the law of Scotland be introduced here, he conceived it would be proper to accommodate his affairs, and retire to some happy clime, where at least he might enjoy the rights which God had given to man, and which his nature tells him he has a right to demand. An honorable gentleman has been talking of the adequacy of the laws. Does he mean that the laws of this country are not adequate to punish sedition? He has told us, that if they are not sufficient to check the career of sedition

tion, laws ought to be introduced to answer that purpose: that the laws of Scotland should be introduced in their place. The question is unfortunately a complicated one. In complicated questions it will always happen, that there are some particular parts in which gentlemen will disagree; parts that some will overlook, and others will combat; but in every question, however intricate and comprehensive its views, there are certain essentials, in which all who value truth, or act from the honest impulse of their heart, must be unanimous. Justice in every country must be the same. If, therefore, in England this sentence must be considered as notoriously unjust, and repugnant to every principle of humanity, it is impossible for ingenuity to varnish over such a system of iniquity, or to give to that which in its very face wears the features of cruelty and oppression, the appearance of justice and humanity. The lord advocate, in order to vindicate the proceedings of the trial, had chosen to consider banishment and transportation as synonymous terms. Mr. Fox contended this was not true; and in proof he cited the statute of 1672, in which the words 'banishment to the West Indies' were expressed. If this word extended generally to transportation, why was the place pointed out in some cases and omitted in others? The reason was obvious. When the law of Scotland only meant the exiling of a man from his country it used the word banishment only, it gave him the liberty of choosing a spot for himself: when the offence called for more exemplary punishment, the place was specified. Mr. Fox warmly disapproved of the conduct of the trial in Mr. Muir's case, the questioning of his own servant respecting his private and unguarded conversation, and the severity of his sentence, which he conceived illegal. He noticed the inconsistency of Mr. Windham in decrying the conduct of Messrs. Muir and Palmer. In the American war he had himself been extremely active in delivering sentiments hostile to government. Why are Messrs. Muir and Palmer considered as sowing the seeds of anarchy and confusion, for only pointing out to the

people



people those privileges which they had a right to enjoy? Sedition, he said, was of a generic nature; there were several species of it; and possibly the lord advocate had been guilty of one, in respect to this trial, respecting two witnesses, one of whom, though incompetent to give evidence, was admitted; while the other, on account of his credibility being doubted, was rejected. With respect to the credibility of Russel, that ought to have been left to the jury, without the judge usurping their province. One of the lords of justiciary had said, that no man has a right to speak of the constitution unless he possesses landed property; men of personal property, however great it might be, had no right to speak. Another of this learned body had wandered into the *Roman law*, and had at last discovered, that, according to that law, the punishment for this offence there stated was, either being torn asunder, thrown into a den of wild beasts, or transportation. Another of these learned lords had asserted, that now the *torture was abolished*, there was no *adequate* punishment for sedition. It could not, he said, escape gentlemen, that not many years ago there were associations in this country, formed exactly upon the principles that Mr. Muir and his friends had formed their's. But it will be said, that the French revolution has changed the nature of affairs. It may be so; but I wish never to believe, that what was once meritorious, and considered as the only means of preserving the liberties of our country, can of a sudden become so atrocious as to call down upon the head of him who so far reveres the constitution of England as to wish to restore it to its primitive perfection, the unrelenting vengeance of persecution; while those who have set this example have fled into the arms of power, and are now enjoying the emoluments of the highest places in this kingdom. Yes, these unfortunate gentlemen have done what the chancellor of the exchequer and the duke of Richmond did before them. They have done no more. Will this house forget the addresses of those two gentlemen to the people—and this not to petition for a reform in parliament, not simply to

state abuses, and to pray for redresses of those abuses, but to *demand* them as their right? As long as gentlemen shall remember the Thatched House, and those associations, it is impossible they can forget *their* addresses to the people." The motion, on a division of the house, was negatived by a majority of 139 against 32.

XII. Notwithstanding the decision of the house upon this question held out but little prospect of success to any similar undertaking, Mr. Adam, on the twenty fifth of March, brought forward a third motion relative to the regulation of the justiciary courts of Scotland. The heads which he dwelt upon were—*leasing-making*, according to the Scotch law, the nature of the crime, and the extent of the punishment. *Sedition*, with its nature of punishment. The propriety of *appeal* from the Scotch criminal courts. The expediency of granting a *new trial* in certain cases. To know in what manner *petty-juries* were returned, and what right of *challenge* was allowed to the prisoner. The *power* of the lord Advocate to institute criminal prosecution; and immediately connected with this head the expediency of granting to the Scotch the protection of a *grand jury*. The power of the criminal courts to punish contempts, and the power of inferior courts to try criminal cases without the *intervention* of a jury. The motion was ably supported by Mr. Fox, and was opposed by Mr. Dundas and the lord Advocate; and on the question being put, it was rejected by a majority of 77 against 24.

XIII. Several thousand Hessian troops having been landed on the coasts of Hampshire, and retained in quarters, without the consent of parliament, Mr. Grey thought proper, in order to shew that such an attempt was a violent encroachment of the crown upon the liberties of the subject, to move in the house of commons on the tenth of February—"that to employ foreigners in any situation of military trust, or to bring foreign troops into this kingdom, without the consent of parliament first had and obtained, is contrary to law." Among the minister's friends, Mr. Serjeant Adair was the only one

to approve of the principle of the motion; though to get rid of the discussion, he moved for the previous question, which, after some debate, was put and carried.

XIV. This very important question was however again brought before the house by Mr. Grey on the fourteenth of March. He controverted in strong terms the opinion of the minister in the former debate. "He considered that opinion," he said, "as coming from such authority, of the utmost importance. However the landing of the Hessian troops might be justified by necessity, it was so clearly against law, that the house should make as speedy an atonement as possible to the people for this breach of the constitution, by passing an act of indemnity; which, while it secured such as had counselled the act, bore testimony to those principles so essential to the preservation of our liberties. From a review of the general tenor of the bill of rights; from succeeding acts of parliament; from the answer of the house of commons to king William, peremptorily refusing to allow his majesty to keep his Dutch guards even in time of peace, he would maintain that the king had no right, either by law or the practice of the constitution, to bring foreign troops into this country at any time, without the consent of parliament. By the act of settlement no foreigner could possibly hold any office of civil or military trust in this country; and according to the mutiny bill, such troops, when in this country, could not by any legal means be under any military law. The first of George the first, which was an amendment of the act of settlement, enacted that in every naturalization bill, the person naturalized should be held incapable of accepting any civil or military trust. What then was the situation of the Hessian Officers? He might be told there were precedents to sanction the measure, but no precedent could sanction illegality; that which was unjust, must for ever remain so, notwithstanding the number of instances in which it was repeated. He declared he had no other view in the measure than guarding against the establishment of a dangerous doctrine and a dangerous precedent.

Whatever might be the pride of ministers, the house were bound to maintain the principles of the constitution. Mr. Grey directed the attention of the house to the possible effects of a measure like the present. What was the security for the freedom of the country, when a king had the power of introducing such a force as would terminate all disputes about rights? What would become of the control of parliament, should such a circumstance take place? What was the remedy he proposed to this evil? A bill of indemnity. Did this hurt the pride of the minister, or was he to be deemed incapable of having erred? What inconvenience could result from such a measure? If the house negatived his proposition, what remained on the other side? The law violated, and a precedent established pregnant with the most dangerous consequences." Mr. Grey concluded by moving for a bill of indemnity, and was seconded by Mr. Francis.

XV. Mr. Grenville said, "that with every possible attention which he could give the question, he could not find one declaration of law which fairly applied to the present case. The bill of rights did not reach it; for that bill only declared 'that the king should not keep a standing army in this country in time of peace, without the consent of parliament.' He thought no one, upon fairly reading the act of settlement, would say, that its regulations were framed with a view to a case any thing like the present; he conceived it was only intended to prevent foreigners from being introduced into places of trust by the family recently admitted to the throne. He referred to the conduct of those who framed the act, who fourteen years after, when six thousand Dutch troops were introduced into this country, in their debates on the subject never expressed a doubt of the legality of their introduction. The conduct of ministers on that occasion had never been questioned as illegal; indeed, in no one instance since the present century, in which foreign troops had been introduced into the country in time of war, had a bill of indemnity ever been thought necessary. The opinion of Mr. Grey, he thought, was contrary to  
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the letter of the law, to the practice of parliament, and the spirit of the constitution. He mentioned the responsibility of ministers for every undue exertion of the prerogative, and asked whether, if an invasion from the French was apprehended, and the regular troops of this country employed abroad, if at the same time there happened to be fifteen thousand of our allies at Ostend, would or would not the minister be justified in sending for them? Most certainly, if he did not, he would deserve to be impeached."

XVI. Mr. Serjeant Adair, in a speech of considerable ability, contended, "that so far from the king being empowered to maintain foreign troops without the consent of parliament, he could at no period of the English history call out the native troops without that consent. During the operation of the feudal laws, the monarchs did not levy troops merely as kings, but as the territorial lords of the country. That at common law there existed no right in the crown to embody any armed force within the country, was clear from the first establishment of the militia in the reign of Charles the second. At that time the greater part of the feudal tenures were abolished, and the system of national defence founded upon them of course fell to the ground. In their stead parliament established a regular national militia, because they knew the king, by his prerogative, had no power to provide for internal defence. From that time a system had been gaining ground of having a regular body of forces, in the nature of a standing army, which had become in some degree a necessary measure. But this army must be annually voted by parliament, and a mutiny bill yearly passed for its regulation. The jealousy of parliament on the prerogative of the crown to levy troops commenced at a very early period, and was evinced by several acts and resolutions of parliament. In the reign of Edward III. an act was passed which enacted, that no person should be called out of the shire in which he lived, except in cases of insurrection or invasion; and he could not conceive that our ancestors would be guilty of such a



solecism in politics as to prevent the drawing forth our native forces, except in times of extraordinary danger, and leave to the crown the right of bringing into the kingdom an indefinite number of foreign troops whenever it pleased. The twenty-fifth of the same king restricts this military force to such as were bound by their tenure and possessions to defend the country. Respecting the militia, though composed of persons peculiarly interested in the welfare of the kingdom, the king is not by law wholly invested with the control of these troops: even in cases of the utmost exigency he is not empowered to call them out, without first acquainting parliament if it is at that time sitting; and if not, it shall be convened within fourteen days, and the measures which had been adopted laid before it. If, however, his majesty was vested with the power of introducing what number of foreign troops he pleased into the kingdom, this jealous caution of the legislature was totally useless and insufficient. From the silence of the bill of rights respecting the prerogative of the crown in this instance, it would be wrong to suppose the existence of such a prerogative. As well might it be said, that several of the most valuable privileges of British subjects, which they hold under magna charta, and the habeas corpus act, did not exist, since they had not been recited in the bill of rights. The act of settlement and the naturalization bill clearly proved that this prerogative did not exist in the crown. Mr. Adair confessed himself no enemy to the ordinary prerogatives of the crown, which were known, defined, and legal; but the prerogative which appeared to him dangerous, was that prerogative, which, if it at all existed, was unknown, undefined, and unascertained. With respect to what had been said by an honorable gentleman concerning the acquiescence of those who had framed the act of settlement in the subsequent introduction of foreign troops, he thought might be fully justified on the grounds of necessity and humanity; and he should have considered that there was little cause for jealousy, had not the assertion of this prerogative proceeded from a quarter

quarter which gave occasion for more than common jealousy, when the question was between the prerogatives of the crown and the law of the land."

XVII. The earl of Wycombe declared, "that if every idea of the constitution he had been able to collect for himself, or had received from education, were not founded on prejudice, the king had not the prerogative now contended for. He could not wonder at the people being enraged, when they saw foreign mercenaries introduced into this country, at a time when our own troops were sending out of the kingdom. The introduction of those troops was inconsistent with the established constitution and maxims of economy, and repugnant to rational policy. He should vote for the motion, considering the power which it was meant to disallow as unfit to be possessed by the sovereign of a free people; and a bill of indemnity, in this case, might establish a necessary and useful precedent, which would prevent future ministers from transgressing the limits prescribed by the constitution."

XVIII. Mr. Fox, said, "that if the introduction of foreign troops into this country was legal, to talk of liberty was absurd; to speak of a free constitution was weakness. If the house did not come to some resolution on its illegality, all the libels of those who said we had no constitution, would be converted into melancholy truths. The argument of responsibility would justify any prerogative, but it was a very different thing to be able to tell a minister he was wrong, and arrest him in the very first step, and to be obliged to watch him in his progress, in order to prove something wrong, when the proof might come too late. He thought it would be criminal to sit silent, and not at least establish a precedent for posterity; since it was the silence of parliaments, on similar questions, that gave us the smallest cause to doubt of their illegality. But our ancestors never imagined there would have been any ambiguity in construing the act of settlement: had they entertained the smallest doubt, they would have guarded against the delusive and artful practice

tice of endeavouring to confound right and wrong, truth and falsehood, so often resorted to in cases of difficulty by the present servants of the crown. He did not suppose ministers would engage in a measure declaredly illegal; but if their intentions were pure, what objection could they make to the proposed bill of indemnity? Mr. Fox quoted the authority of the late lord Mansfield, to shew the propriety of ministers seeking indemnity, whenever necessity should urge them to act illegally. He called upon gentlemen to consider the duty they owed their constituents, and upon the crown lawyers to decide this important point. If the motion was to be negatived, he said one of two ideas would go abroad, either that the house had affirmed the legality, or that, from timidity and deference to men in power, they had shrunk from the inquiry. If it was asked why decisions were not called for on other points of the constitution as well as this, he would answer, that on most other constitutional points there was no material difference of opinion, but here a new and dangerous claim of prerogative had been maintained by great abilities and great authority." On the motion being called for, the ayes were 41, noes 170.

XIX. The debate in the lords upon this subject took a very different turn from what it had in the commons. Here the landing of foreign troops without the previous sanction of parliament was admitted to be illegal by the whole house, excepting lord Auckland. As he had been the earliest convert to the minister's political principles, he appears to have thought it his duty to give this unblushing proof of the sincerity of his conviction. The bill for the indemnity of ministers was, however, rejected, or rather evaded, in the upper house, by carrying the motion for the previous question: but as the introduction of foreign troops into this country, without the previous consent of parliament, was fully admitted to be illegal and unconstitutional, the principle may fairly be considered as established beyond the power of any minister to shake.

XX. The employment of the French emigrants in the

war

A. D. 1794.

GEORGE III.

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war against their own country, which had been always severely and justly censured by the opposition, produced in this session debates of some magnitude. On the first of February, major Maitland made a motion in the house of commons, "that an account be laid before the house of any officers, natives of foreign countries, now in service under the command of the earl of Moira, and receiving British pay." Mr. Grey seconded the motion, and maintained that such officers could not be employed in British pay without the authority of parliament. Mr. secretary Dundas insisted upon the necessity of the earl of Moira's using his discretion, and suppressing the names of any officers he might have under his command. The motion was negatived without a division. It had, however, the good effect some time after of procuring from the earl of Moira, in the house of lords, some more certain and satisfactory information of his expedition to the coast of France, than had before reached the public ear. His lordship mentioned "that he had received an invitation to take upon himself the command of an expedition to be undertaken for the succour of the royalists. He was honored with his majesty's commands on the seventeenth of November, but, owing to the adverse state of the winds and weather, the fleet did not sail from Portsmouth till the first of December. Previous to this, his majesty's ministers and himself had received information of a meeting held by persons deputed by ministers to the royalist army at Doll in Normandy, who had agreed on a plan of operation; but owing to the difficulty of intercourse, this information did not reach ministers till the twenty-fifth of November. By that information it was settled what signals were to be made by the English fleet on their arrival upon the coast, for the purpose of directing the troops where they thought the descent most practicable, and a variety of other matters were adjusted.— On the first of December they sailed, and early the next morning they made the coast of Cherbourg. He ran down the coast for a considerable extent, hoping to find the royalists in force as had been represented to him; but

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not one of the concerted signals, though repeatedly made by the different ships, was answered from the shore. Not knowing how to account for this circumstance, and in obedience to his orders, his lordship said he proceeded to Guernsey, where, in consequence of contrary winds, he did not arrive till the twenty-fifth. His lordship desired the house to attend to the dates which he had occasion to mention, because the whole of his explanation rested on that particular. While at Guernsey he dispatched a number of emissaries in search of the royalist army. He at length learned that the royalists had made an attack on Granville, but had been defeated, and had retreated to the banks of the Loire. All the French journals and newspapers stated, however, that one column of the royalist army had directed its course towards Caen in Normandy. His lordship said, that on considering the port, which the royalists had named as the port for him to make, he found, from the peculiar difficulty of access, and from other circumstances, it would be impossible for him to throw succours into it; he therefore, by his emissaries, had sent word to the royalists of the doubts he entertained of being able to effect the purpose agreed on, and directed their march to another point. While at Guernsey a storm arose that separated him from half his squadron and troops. Conceiving, nevertheless, that the faith of the British government was pledged to the army of the royalists, he thought it his duty, be the event and consequence what they might, to lend them every possible succour which his reduced force could administer. Under the impression of this idea he put to sea, and after he left Guernsey, he appointed the French staff, which had been rendered a subject of discussion in another house of parliament. He begged their lordships to recollect the point of time when the appointment was made---while he was expecting to land on the coast of France immediately, and when he meant not to join his army to that of the royalists, but to engraft the royalist forces on those which he had under his command; when he expected, the moment he landed, to have proceeded.



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ceded to battle, to find the royalists dispirited by defeats, and to have to lead them on to instant contest: it was impossible therefore for him, with any regard to prudence, to trust to the chance of subsequent opportunity. He appointed the French staff as he had stated, and it consisted of two aides-de-camp, a French secretary, and a quarter master general. In having appointed this staff, he had no hesitation to say, that he had not been authorized by his majesty's ministers; he conceived that the nature of his command necessarily invested him with a degree of discretion adequate to the end of the destined service. If, however, it should be thought by his majesty's ministers that he had acted improperly, he desired it distinctly to be understood, that he took the expence upon himself, and that ministers might, if they pleased, upon the winding up of his accounts, deduct the whole amount of the expence. Another matter brought into discussion in the other house of parliament, he understood had been, that he had appointed French artilleryists. The fact was, that the council, who directed the operations of the royalist army, had stated to our government, that they had plenty of cannon, but that they really did not know how to make use of them effectually, for want of proper artilleryists. Considering that the French had rendered themselves formidable in the field by means of their artillery, his lordship said, he thought the circumstance worth immediate attention. He wrote without delay to Flanders, begging that the army in that quarter would supply him with as many artilleryists as they could well spare. His requisition was instantly complied with, and as soon as they arrived, they were put upon allowance; but their allowance was not included in any pay-list. What could he do less with men, whom he had sent for, from an army in which they were entitled to constant pay? His lordship spoke in very feeling terms of the miserable situation of the French officers in question, the safety of whose connexions in France depended upon their names not being disclosed." Thus, from his lordship's account, it appears that the original scheme of succour-

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ing the royalists was delayed till a season of the year when the attempt was not only highly dangerous, but almost impracticable. From this circumstance, the failure of earl Moira's expedition will cease to be a matter of surprise; but when it is considered that the commander in chief was so little aided by ministerial intelligence, as to be guided by republican newspapers in the execution of his measures, a more successful termination of the undertaking could not be expected.

XXI. On the seventeenth of February, the marquis of Lansdowne introduced a motion for peace in the house of lords. His lordship began by stating his wish, "that it had come from other hands, and particularly that his majesty's ministers had derived from such a motion all the merit, and all the gratitude, which it would have fixed in the minds of their countrymen. In hopes of this he had deferred his motion, but seeing the immense preparations making for a continuance of the war, the volumes of engagements into which we had entered with foreign powers, and the solemn declarations of perseverance, he thought it time to deliberate for a moment, to inquire into the cause and object of the dispute. His lordship professed that it was not at all his intention to address himself to the passions of noble lords, but asked, what must be the feelings of a burdened nation, when they saw *thirteen millions* of money voted for the continuance of a war, without a single consideration of the merits of the case, and on the mere pretext of a *French pamphlet*? The people, he said, were, however, not likely to think that the sentiments of a single individual, and that individual a member of a faction that was crushed at the time of the writing, a good ground for perpetuating the horrors of an undefined and unexplained war. The present faction in France might soon be overthrown, and inflammatory pamphlets by the partisans of each successive faction might furnish pretexts for the continuance of war, if such wretched pretexts were to be allowed as legitimate grounds. After two campaigns, the last the

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most sanguinary and expensive in the annals of modern history, before involving Europe in the horrors of a third, it might not be unworthy their lordship's attention to inquire into the success of the past. The question was, whether the innumerable treaties we had made were calculated to turn the tide of misfortune, and secure a rational hope of success in the ensuing campaign? He thought we had no more probability of success now than before. The line of war in which we were now engaged had been condemned from the time of the duke of Marlborough down to general Lloyd, the last officer that had written upon the subject. The opinion of all men of great military talents in Europe had been, that an attempt to penetrate France through the frontier, which had been the seat of war, is impracticable, and this had been verified by the fate of the two last campaigns. His lordship took a concise and able review of the different attacks made in the two last campaigns on the frontiers of France, under generals of the most distinguished abilities, and all had equally failed of success. Yet, after this melancholy experience, we were hazarding a third campaign. But it seems a new officer of middle rank (colonel Mack) had formed a new plan upon which the cabinets of Europe rested their hopes, and upon which we were to risk the lives of our fellow-creatures. His lordship paid every compliment to the colonel which could be possibly his due, but did not conceive him very likely to accomplish an enterprise which had failed in the hands of predecessors of acknowledged military experience and gallantry. It was not so astonishing to find an officer suggesting a new plan, as to see the credulous avidity with which it was embraced, and the implicit confidence given to it. We were told that Flanders had been saved; Flanders had been lost by one battle and gained by another.— This only proved that the fate of Flanders depended upon a single battle. The secret history of the French would prove, that the loss of Flanders to them was the result of the animosities of private factions. These gave Du-

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mourier the ascendant over La Fayette, and subjected him to the triumph of Pache. To the animosities of these factions may be attributed their failure by the defection of Dumourier. The jealousies of La Fayette and Dumourier were the cause, and in proportion to the unanimity of the French (an unanimity established by the persecution of their enemies) will be the difficulty of making any impression upon the republic. There was a principle of action and re-action in human nature, that never failed to produce great and unaccountable effects. The result of the private factions of France had at length given to her government more formidable power than had ever been maintained by any state; and it was of the utmost consequence to consider the effects which were likely to follow, from keeping up in France the tone and passion they at present possessed. France, by the pressure of the allies upon her frontier, had become a school of military wonder. In a few years none could prophesy what unforeseen enterprises they might not effect. His lordship proved from history the probability, that if other governments determined to persevere in the design to goad, to attack, and to hunt the French, we should confirm, so as never to be rooted out, a military republic in the heart of Europe. Nor let us, said the marquis, proudly conceive, that our combination will make us formidable, because it is opposed to a single people; when we sharpen talents by irascibility, when we inflame the natural energies of the soul, when we call forth and rouse every faculty of nature, each individual becomes something more than man. Great moments have always produced great men and great actions. The time of conflict is the time in which nature seems to delight in her grandest productions.—The whole of the rising generation in France is educated in the military art; not as here, with a view to rising in life, but the enthusiasm of war entered into the heart, only from the enthusiasm of liberty; and the whole country is taught, that their sole occupation and passion ought to be arms, because their only good and blessing

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bleſſing is liberty. Such being the ſtate of the war, his lordſhip aſked, whether it was reaſonable to perfevere in it? Whether upon the principle avowed we ought to ſucceed? And, whether by the treaties we have made we were likely to do ſo? Above all, whether the war was not likely to produce conſequences fearful to England, to Europe, and to the liberties of mankind? His lordſhip then entered into a view of the treaties we had made; he attempted to ſhew that the jealouſy of Spain, excited by our views upon the French Weſt India iſlands, which, if attained, muſt throw her at our mercy—by the naval intereſt and contraband trade, which it had been our object to encourage, to her diſcontent—by the affair of Nootka Sound—by the uneaſineſs manifeſted at Toulon, when they ſaw a ſhip of one hundred and ten guns taken away by the Engliſh, which they thought belonged to them as the natural guardians of Louis XVII. was not likely to ſuffer that nation to entertain that ſubſtantial alliance with us? From various circumſtances his lordſhip proved that Portugal too would be found in the ſame intereſt with Spain, with all the numerous advantages to be derived from her ports, in caſe of future differences between the courts of Madrid and London. With reſpect to the king of Pruſſia, his lordſhip contended, that as head of the Germanic alliance, it muſt ever be his policy to reſiſt the aggrandizement of the houſe of Auſtria. This alliance ſeemed for the moment to be ſacrificed to the project againſt France; and the king of Pruſſia was now allied to the houſe of Auſtria to accompliſh a purpoſe which muſt ruin the very object of that league.—“To ſupport the independence of Pruſſia,” his lordſhip ſaid, “he would cheerfully vote for almoſt every ſubſidy; for when once the principalities of Germany were enſlaved, there was an end to the liberties and freedom of the continent. But was it to be believed that the cabinet of Vienna had changed its object? It had been diſtinguiſhed not merely by its ſyſtematic ambition, but by inceſſant ability in the proſe-



cution of its designs. His lordship called the attention of the house to the designs of the court of Vienna, upon Bavaria, in which they were very near succeeding, and in which, if they had succeeded, the chief of the house of Austria would have become king, and all the little German states must have fallen his prey. Either, therefore, Prussia cannot be sincerely united to Austria in the present war, which must threaten our confederacy, or the connexion must threaten the liberties of Europe much more than suffering France to continue her present boundaries. Can we believe that so monstrous an alliance can continue? or that the independent states of Germany can long continue so blind to their permanent interests, as to abet the court of Vienna in the present war? His lordship next proceeded to mention Russia, and considered the court of Petersburg, next to that of Vienna, as the most systematic in Europe. The good sense of the nation had, he said, recently saved us from a profitless war with Russia. By the fault of ministers we made peace, leaving Oczakow in her possession; and we had allowed her to give a value to Oczakow, which before was merely negative, by permitting her to seize the whole eastern division of Poland, containing three millions and a half of people, and rich in corn, forests, and pastures, which will enable her to make an active use of all the rivers east of the Danube. By these means she was furnished with every supply for land and sea operations against Constantinople itself, and this had been done while we had been intermeddling in the internal affairs of France! As to her alliance, where were the expected forces from Russia? Had she in one instance fulfilled her promises? It was her invariable policy to embroil the southern powers of Europe, in order to exhaust them. His lordship noticed her interference in the peace of 1782, and added, that instead of sending troops to aid the present confederacy, she had been erecting fortresses in Poland, that, when she had seen her rivals sufficiently exhausted, she might fall upon her long devoted victim, the Turk. His lordship lamented that we should abet the designs of this

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truly formidable power, and, from the best information, stated the resources of the empress as immense. The next ally considered by his lordship was Holland:—Holland, which had been the cat's paw of the cat's paw; for the fact was undeniable that ministers had involved Great Britain in war, and Great Britain had tricked Holland into it, contrary to her judgment and inclination. Had the Dutch, though a maritime power, sent a single ship to sea? His lordship compared their present backwardness with their former glorious struggles, and said it exhibited the difference between men when engaged in defence of their own liberties, and when drawn in to fight with others against their will. The marquis next mentioned the king of Sardinia, and considered that state as too much impoverished to render us any service. It had been an opinion that the king might be a small check upon France, but he certainly never could cross the Var to any good purpose. His lordship then observed, that upon this heterogeneous confederacy of interests, so inimical to each other, we relied for success in the war. He asked whether it was to be expected they would keep together? Was it to be believed that an undefined object, in which no two of them had ever agreed, and which is stated to be diametrically opposite as soon as they attempt to define it, shall perform the miracle of subduing all old animosities, stifling their jealousies, smothering their mutual asperities, and resolving them in a mass of perfect union? The artful ambition of the courts of Russia and Prussia, he said, maintained the league only till their rivals were exhausted. In the mean time none of the allies had money, except that power which had given no other aid than promises, and the whole burden had fallen, and *must* fall, upon the patient and suffering people of these kingdoms. His lordship reprobated the conduct of ministers towards neutral nations, whom we had endeavoured to compel to take up arms. He recapitulated the correspondence between lord Hervey and the court of Florence, and that of our other ministers with the courts of Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and America. On

the twenty second of May lord Harvey sent his first note, intimating the arrival of an English and Spanish squadron in the Mediterranean. He received from the minister of the grand duke a respectful declaration, that his royal highness was determined to observe a strict neutrality. To this lord Harvey made a reply expressive of astonishment, but declaring he would make known the answer to the court of St. James's. Yet, to prove that he had received his instructions, he forthwith dispatched a circular letter to all the other ministers of the court of Tuscany, making known the declaration of the grand duke, in terms harsh, revolting, and unprecedented.— On the eighth of October he presented a memorial, peremptorily calling upon his royal highness to dismiss the French minister in twelve hours, or lord Hood would act offensively against Leghorn. This was our conduct to the brother of the emperor, our ally—as distant from every principle of policy, as it was from decency and the law of nations. Ministers should have considered before they had offered such a premeditated insult, that the prince whom they treated so rudely might to-morrow fill the throne of the empire. It is a received opinion of persons conversant in courts, that services conferred upon princes are usually, if not constantly forgotten; but that insults and injuries never are. Leghorn, his lordship shewed, had, in the year 1712, been declared to be a perpetual free port, and he remarked the danger there was, in future wars, of Spain and France availing themselves of the precedent we had set them, and holding the same language to Leghorn and Genoa which we now do. Our language to Genoa had, his lordship said, been the language of the strong to the weak. With Sweden and Denmark we had stood upon particular treaties, because they suited our views. The state of them with Denmark made it necessary to have recourse to other arguments. The answer of that court, with the counter-declaration inclosed in it, was a sufficient reproof of that arrogance. In fact, count Bernstoff's reply was one of the most argumentative and the most masterly diplomatic productions.

productions he had ever read. His lordship spoke with nearly equal praise of the canton of Berne. Our conduct towards America had been marked with more than common outrage,—he even feared with the blackness of guilt. Without any possible subject of contention, supposing the late treaty of peace carried fully into execution, we had contrived to become embroiled with that country, though in this present war she had passed by many provocations, and though she had at the head of her government a person of such consummate wisdom and force of character as to set an example to all the other powers of the world. This great man, instead of attending to the clamor of the moment, *or raising a false alarm*, in order to have a pretext for yielding to it, had the firmness to resist popular opinion, and to wait for the return of good sense and sound judgment in the public. Under such circumstances, what could tempt us to issue that order of council on the sixth of November, without consulting a single merchant? An order which we were obliged to repeal six weeks afterwards! The marquis intimated that suspicions had arisen that this country was accessory to the war made upon the Americans by the Algerines, and even that we were concerned in promoting the Indian war. If these were calumnies, ministers ought to deny both, not only for the sake of their own honor, but for the public good. Whether, his lordship said, he looked to the confederacy on the one hand, or to the neutral powers, whom we had irritated, on the other, he saw nothing to hope. There was no European power who would not rather keep out of the contest, if left at liberty so to do, or who had not some separate view of interest for engaging in it which must take place at the expence of the whole. All the continental powers, the marquis added, are in want of money, which deserved some consideration, as Great Britain was to supply the deficiency. Spain had issued about three millions and a half of paper money, though she could scarcely circulate the paper she had before, which had sunk the exchange twenty per cent. None of our confederates, except Russia,

sia, had credit in neutral countries. All of them, except Prussia, which had no credit whatever, had proposals for loans which did not fill. The credit of Holland was worse than any, having lately endeavoured to raise a million sterling on a lottery, which would have yielded five per cent to the subscribers, but none were to be found, though Holland used to get her money at two and a half per cent. On the other hand, in France every thing was converted to public use, paper was used for internal purposes, and gold and silver for its necessary importations. The whole being left upon us, his lordship said, it was not the trash of an indemnity we ought to pursue, but to conciliate the minds of the people of France, and restore peace to mankind. This was the way to make a lasting peace between the two nations. So far in the present instance from a peace not being secure with France, it would be more secure than with any cabinet in Europe. His lordship produced several instances to prove, that cabinets were never to be depended upon. But who were we to treat with? was the constant cry.—Treat, said his lordship, with the French people, no matter for the name. If our intentions are wise and disinterested, there can be little to settle, and in that would lie our great security. Ministers, he said, might make difficulties; they had done so in the American war, and he noticed the paltry shifts which had been made use of on this occasion. In the present instance our allies were talked of, who, if they meant honestly, had interests the same as ours, namely, that of peace. Other difficulties might and would be started, as long as ministers were indisposed to peace; but if this were proved to be the case, he hoped that parliament would do as in the case of America, cut the knot which ministers refused to untie. He strongly asserted the pacific dispositions of the French towards this country, and solemnly declared as a fact his conviction that the French *never* desired a war with this country, and that there never had been a moment, to that very time, when peace was not to be had on terms perfectly consistent with the honor of Great Britain. His lordship



asked what indemnity we were to receive? Was it any West India island or islands? At the time we possessed America, this might have been considered as a source of great wealth; but now they no longer depended on us for supplies to their markets, for their slaves, or for defence against their slaves, this was no longer the case. His lordship noticed the diffusion of the liberal principles respecting the slave trade, as an additional reason for the ceasing of the dependence of the West Indies upon us. The St. Domingo proclamation, and the late proceedings in the convention, must spread gradually through all the French islands; mutual dissatisfaction must arise at the bargain answering so little for either side; and those new conquests in the West Indies, however managed, would be to this country little better than money traps; they would belong to us not one moment longer than the monopoly of our consumption made it decidedly for their interests; and this was the case also with our own West India islands. Let us not then, said the marquis, pursue the idea of this pitiful indemnity to our ruin. The stagnation of our domestic industry and of our national capital for one year was worth more than the fee-simple of any of the islands to the empire. The French, he added, considering us as the head of the confederacy, would more decidedly direct their efforts against us. They had turned their attention to their marine; and from what they had done in that way under Louis XIV. we well knew what they were able to achieve. In this situation, the marquis said, it became necessary to ask what distinct object we had in view; and as ministers refused to name that object, he must look for it in the different manifestoes. His lordship then entered into the full consideration of the two manifestoes of the duke of Brunswick, that of General Wurmser, and the prince of Saxe Cobourg, and those of lord Hood, admiral Langara, and general O'Hara, &c. and proved, that there was not one which did not either contradict itself, or which was not immediately contradicted by a succeeding one, or which was not completely disregarded in the execution. Taken together.

together, they conveyed no distinct idea, except that of extending absolute power and encouraging unlimited monarchy. The real objects of the war had never been defined, still less the terms upon which we would make peace. The object of the present motion was therefore to beseech his majesty to make both these things known, which was equally necessary both for war and peace. The marquis recommended, as an example to this country in its intercourse with France, the conduct of Louis IX. during the civil wars in the reign of Henry III. Were we to manifest sentiments of kindness and generosity, and a desire of peace towards the French, they would evince the same. They had always been against a war with England. Mutual rancor, his lordship said, had been excited by the mutual invectives which had been bandied about. This he earnestly wished to be avoided, and that we should behave nobly, not seeking to derive profit from the misfortunes of our neighbours. He next called the attention of the house to the critical situation in which we at present stood. It was given as a reason for the peace of 1748, that Maestricht was left the single town of the low countries. At present matters did not depend upon a single town, but on the fate of a single battle;—one battle lost, and all our advantage ground was gone. It would then be the time for the French to talk of indemnification, security, and barrier. If they lost a battle, it was comparatively nothing; for it was not one, two, three, or even four battles that could seriously humble them, and nothing of this kind could have a permanent operation. The marquis said, he had no expectation that these reasonings would have an immediate effect; but he besought the house to take them into serious consideration, that they might produce future good. His lordship concluded by moving an humble address, to represent to his majesty “the extreme impossibility of conquering France—that the confederacy was not to be depended upon, was exhausted in its finances, and the burden and odium of the war must ultimately fall upon Great Britain—that were the war in  
future

future to be successful, it was impossible to continue it, as no acquisitions of territory could be of benefit, at the risque of prolonging the present, and laying the foundation of future wars—the immense loss that must ensue to trade from the continuance of this war, and the general decay of it which had arisen in the place of an expected reduction of debt and taxes—that the dismemberment of France, if attainable, would augment the strength of the greater European powers, who were the most dangerous and the most to be dreaded—that opinions and sentiments, once disseminated, cannot be controlled by arms, and therefore every government which would guard against democratic principles, should avoid the evils that gave birth to them—that the acquiescence shewn by the French in the provisional government is no proof that they will continue it, if we suffer them to return to a state of external peace—that experience has demonstrated the futility of every attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of France, even if the justice were problematical—and that we must incur the keenest reproaches, if we encouraged further revolts in a country, where we had been unable to save those who put confidence in us from extermination and ruin—therefore to improve his majesty to declare, without delay, his disposition to make peace upon such just, disinterested, and liberal terms as were calculated to render the peace lasting, and that he would signify this intention to his allies, that a stop might be put to the daily effusion of human blood.”

XXII. Such are the outlines of this extraordinary speech; the conjectures contained in which have since been fully confirmed by a train of positive and melancholy facts. The motion of this great statesman brought forth the duke of Grafton in its support, after a recess from politics of more than twenty years. His grace said, “that if he had not previously, from having communicated with the noble mover of the motion, weighed it in his mind, examined it in every point of view, and deliberately considered it, he should not at this stage of the debate say a single word upon the subject.” His grace noticed

noticed his long absence from the house. "He did not," he said, "hope that the few who concurred with him in sentiment would be at once able to effect any material advantage; but he hoped that, by constantly and unremittingly pointing out the obvious disadvantages of the war, they might at length effect their object, and procure for the country the blessings of peace. He recollected that a minority, small in number, reviled, treated with contempt, slandered by addresses to his majesty from different parts of the kingdom, did, by perseverance and firmness, at length effect their object, convert their minority into a majority, and bring about a peace with America. The motion was not likely to be attended with any indignity to the crown; it did not militate against the interests of our fellow subjects; it was calculated to promote the real welfare of this country, and he believed, if right measures had been taken some time ago with respect to continental affairs, hundreds of thousands of the lives of our fellow creatures would have been spared. He conceived the misfortunes in which we were at present involved had their origin in a doctrine new to him, the doctrine of implicit obedience to his majesty's ministers. Such evils were the consequences of a series of ill-judged and most impolitic measures; and those who should advise a continuance of them might, on a future day, be called to answer to the injured country for the misfortunes in which they had involved her. There was some radical defect in the constitution, either in its theory or practice, or these misfortunes could not have happened. It was the duty of their lordships to examine whence it sprung, and the means by which it might be remedied; for the progress of it, if not prevented, threatened to terminate in the final subversion of our excellent constitution." His grace afterwards adverted to the financial oration of Mr. Pitt in the year 1792, in which he stated the probable prospect of our enjoying uninterrupted peace for the space of fifteen years; and had calculated upon that our finances, and built upon it a plan for the liquidation of our enormous debt. Yet, in the space of twelve months,

months, all these fair prospects had vanished, through the temerity of ministers, who had involved their country in a war, undefined in its principle and object, and which, from every information he could obtain, was what political writers termed *bellum internecionis*, a war of extermination. At that time the minister could not be ignorant of the affairs of France; yet, in less than the short space of twelve months, we were engaged in war, and the people burdened with twelve millions additional debt. What inference could be drawn from this fact? Either that the minister was insincere at the time he held the language, or that the system on our part, with reference to the politics of the continent, was changed. The first was uncharitable, the second a fair inference. He would suppose then we had changed our system, and that we were now to insist upon a particular form of government. On this he had no idea of success, nor did he see justice in our interference, upon any pretence, in the internal government of another country. Had it not been for our alliance with Austria and Prussia, one hundred thousand lives might have been spared: His grace strongly contended for the policy of having allied this country with France, rather than with Austria and Prussia. To prove that the French would not unite with this country, recourse was had to the invectives of Barrere. Was it from them we were to judge of the sense of the nation? As an unanswerable argument for terminating the war, his grace stated, by calculation, the enormous amount to which an annual accumulation of debt would swell in a few years. It had been said, that the French wished to overturn our constitution; but he believed, if there was wisdom in our councils, and proper terms were offered to the French, there would be no danger. Much had been inferred from speeches in the national convention; and the pamphlet of Brissot, to prove the French determined on the destruction of other governments. He did not agree to the conclusion. Much invective had been passed in our houses of parliament, and indeed such steps had been taken as had tended entirely to inflame the French. His grace parti-



cularly noticed the manifesto of the duke of Brunswick; and wished to know, whether the ministers of this country were acquainted with it previous to its publication. If they were, they should have protested against it. If they were not, it was far from respectful in the courts of Vienna and Berlin not to have communicated it. After discussing the subject of the manifestoes at large, his grace professed himself actuated on this occasion only by love to his sovereign and his country, and a regard to his own honor. He thought a continuance of the war *threatened his majesty's throne and government, and the safety and prosperity of this country.*"

XXIII. The earl of Caernarvon, "considered the speech of the noble mover of the question as little calculated to promote peace, and tending to embroil us with our allies and neutral nations. All that he had said against the war had been *supported by no proof*; and the only admissible position was, that peace was a blessing devoutly to be wished. His lordship mentioned, at great length, the motives for the war which have been so often adduced; resistance to the avowed objects of the French, and security for the rights, liberties, and constitution of Great Britain and her allies. That it could not be avoided by negotiation, he inferred from M. Chauvelin's answer to lord Grenville respecting the Scheld. He did not, he said, mean to follow the noble lord in his comments on the different manifestoes. The superintendence of parliament was confined to the servants of the king of Great Britain, and no such intentions appeared as the noble lord imputed to them: but if a decided declaration in favour of monarchy could have given a probability of a more speedy peace, he should not have thought it objectionable. His lordship described the fluctuating and insecure nature of the French government; before he could feel confidence in a government, which drew its precarious existence from the subversion of old principles, he must know its moral principles and political opinions; whether it knew the nature of a contract between nation and nation; and whether the new code of the *Rights of*  
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*Man* did not overset the law of nations as well as those of France. His lordship inveighed strongly against the opinions and conduct of the French, who, he said, demanded the surrender of this government as the price of peace."

XXIV. Lord Lauderdale drew an animated picture of the situation in which the minority were at present placed. "They were," he said, "publicly calumniated as jacobins, when their object was only the support of the liberties of the country. Though the minority was small, he trusted, however, that the spirit by which they were actuated would not abate; and he had no doubt their numbers would increase as in the American war, and their efforts be finally crowned with success. His lordship asserted, that in the history of mankind it would be difficult to find a people who had been persecuted with an equal degree of antipathy, animosity and ferocity with the French. It had been asked, what losses we had sustained? He would answer that there was scarcely an individual who had not suffered some injury. All who had property in the funds had already lost one fourth part of it; and if those who possessed landed property were to make a fair calculation, they would find their loss proportionate. There was beside an enormous increase of taxes. Our trade, and every branch of our commerce, had suffered excessively. And what had been gained on the other side? Was there a single action which could elate the mind, or warm us with pride, on reflecting on the conduct of our country? Had ministers pursued a dignified neutrality, the wealth of Europe would have poured into this island; we should not only have reaped a noble harvest, but preserved our *honor*. His lordship denied the necessity of any alarm from the diffusion of French principles. There was no similarity between the government of England and the former French government. He strongly contrasted the wretched situation of the subjects of France previous to the revolution, with that of the subjects of Great Britain. He ridiculed the idea that we could not treat with France without risking our happy constitution against their principles. He recapitulated

intulated the many evils which were apprehended from treating with the French, and contended that none such could arise. His lordship again mentioned the losses of the merchants, and the destruction of their commerce. His noble friends never mentioned, he said, the losses of the campaign, but ministers trumpeted forth, that they were fighting for their constitution, for their all. The noble marquis and himself had both property in the country. Were property or religion in any danger, could it be supposed the noble marquis would not be one of the last men to introduce such a motion, and he the last man to second him? With regard to the impracticability of treating on account of our alliances; had we held that doctrine in our late dispute with Russia, we must have been at war; and if it was one of our articles not to make peace till the republic of France was overturned, some of our allies could not go with us in that treaty. His lordship noticed the reluctance with which Holland had entered into the war. She cared not about establishing monarchy. Her language was—'Let the barrier be secure, and we do not care what your government is.' With respect to the king of Prussia, it was well known what induced him to persevere: and that no dependance could be placed on his continuing the alliance. It was his opinion, that in the course of the war all the weaker powers of Europe must be subsidized. His lordship mentioned several instances of the intriguing spirit of the old government of France, and recommended the line of conduct pursued by the Americans towards the present.—With respect to the violation of treaties, by our treating for a separate peace, if we ever allowed ministers to make treaties which bound the parliament and the people not to make peace till their wild and romantic views were gratified, the privileges of parliament would indeed be annihilated, and we should be acting, not on British, but on German and Prussian principles."

XXV. Lord Grenville said, "that the motion was ill-timed, inexpedient, and impracticable. He was astonished to see two such men as the noble marquis and duke,

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the one a person of extensive landed possessions, the other deriving great advantages from family grants, propose a negotiation for peace, without stating any ground on which it could be effected with security. His lordship denied the impregnability of the frontier of France; and after an extended view of the last campaign, in which he roundly asserted the *successes were greater than had ever attended the first campaign of any war*, he vindicated the conduct of ministers towards the neutral nations, on the ground of the necessity they were under of preventing nations, under the pretext of neutrality, supplying the enemy with materials for carrying on the war. His lordship contrasted our finances with those of France, and was pleased to inform the house, that *our commerce was flourishing, our manufactures increasing, and our revenue prosperous*. He strongly denied our having had any concern in the Indian war, and mentioned his surprise, that the noble lords who supported the motion had not brought forward any specific proposal to obviate the difficulties which impeded a negotiation."

XXVI. Lord Lansdowne, in his reply, observed, "that the noble secretary had in many instances misconceived and misrepresented his arguments, as well as those of the noble duke (of Grafton) whose example he however recommended to the noble secretary, as that of a man who, having enjoyed the highest situations of the kingdom, had not used the influence afforded by his situation to *enrich or aggrandize his family*; he had not *accumulated places*, he had *seized upon no sinecure*, he had neither *accepted titles, grants, nor reversions*. It was therefore peculiarly unfair in the noble secretary to allude to the grants made to his grace's ancestors, especially considering what had passed respecting some *modern grants*. The arguments adduced by the noble secretary had been so precisely those made use of during the American war, that were he to have judged from his ear only, he should have imagined that they came precisely from the same persons. His lordship expressed in the strongest terms his surprise at the statement which had been given of the prosperity

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prosperity of this country, and said, that in the town of Birmingham only, four thousand persons had been added to the poor rates since the commencement of the war :— where he lived in the country bankruptcies happened every day ; the people were so loaded with taxes, that a little more would press them down. If the noble secretary dreaded discontent and clamour amongst the people, the remedy was at hand. Let him introduce a system of strict public œconomy, abolish all *reversions* and *sinécures* unjustly obtained, lower the taxes, extend the trial by jury equally to both kingdoms. He thought also, that since, much to the honor of the age, new privileges had been granted to Roman Catholics, the same liberality should be extended to dissenters. Such a system would indeed conciliate the affections of the people, secure the peace, and promote the prosperity of these kingdoms." On a division there appeared for the motion 13, against it 103.

XXVII. Though ministers had been so confident of the subjugation of France, as in the course of last session to have declared their expectations of an uninterrupted march to Paris, the face of public affairs had now undergone such a melancholy change, that at this time they appeared to have serious apprehensions for the safety of England. In order, therefore, to provide for the internal defence of the kingdom, Mr. Pitt, on the sixth of March, introduced to the house a motion for an augmentation of the militia. As this application was said to be founded on the dread of a French invasion, it met with the entire concurrence of all sides of the house. While this business was pending in the commons, it was discovered that a paper had been issued from the treasury, by way of recommendation from his majesty to the people to stand forth and assist the executive government by *voluntary subscriptions*. This plan of raising money without the consent of parliament, was strongly opposed as highly illegal and unconstitutional. It was warmly contended that parliament was the only *legal* organ of the country, through which the people



people could consent to any measure which was ultimately to be paid for out of the public purse. This opinion was concurred in by Messrs. Adair and Powis, both of whom were nevertheless decided advocates for the war. The minister, however, having persevered in asserting the legality of the measure, Mr. Sheridan brought the business regularly before parliament on the twenty-eighth of March. In his speech on this occasion he stated, "that the minister had persisted in the plan he had adopted in such a way as made it evident that he rather acted from the view of establishing a bad principle, than from any hope of immediate advantage to the state. He would," he said, "have cheerfully put off the discussion, had any parliamentary sanction been applied for on this alarming measure. But it seemed to be the intention of the minister to be the first to desire, in the ostentation of his power, to increase the prerogative of the crown; and in the choice of means, to give the preference to whatever contradicted some established usage, violated some fundamental principle, or demolished some constitutional fence. In proof of this he instanced the introduction of foreign troops without parliamentary consent, and the proceedings on the present occasion. The question for the consideration of the house was," he said, "whether the people had a right to offer and to give, and the crown to receive a supply or subscription for public purposes, without the knowledge and consent of parliament." Mr. Sheridan divided his speech into three propositions; the first of which was, "that it was against the reason of things, and the principles of a mixed government, and of a representative system, and consequently not reconcileable with the spirit or letter of our constitution, for the crown to possess such a power. There could," he said, "be no security for public liberty, except on the ground that the crown cannot take or use property to any public purpose, without the consent of parliament; and it was our boast that the people could not, by any indiscreet benevolence, present their money to the crown by any other

other means than through the channel of parliament.— Were it otherwise, parliament would be useless, and the king have the means of employing this money to purposes not previously explained. If grand juries and county meetings could not therefore, with safety to the constitution, grant such sums of their own motion, how much more alarming must it be, if the crown could at pleasure appeal to knots of selected individuals, and procure supplies for purposes unexplained to the legal representatives of the people? A moment of delusion might arise, when, by exerting all the influence of the crown, and adding to it the quackery of cant phrases, and inflammatory appeals to the passions, the people might be brought to grant supplies which the parliament had refused.” He stated, “that if the power of granting the public money were to be vested in the hands of individuals, the constitution must be overturned, the parliament a mere mockery, as the king would be independent of that body. The use of parliaments was, that the king might be under the necessity of governing by them, and might be indebted for his money to their grants. If the king could in this, or any other way, be rendered independent of parliament, there could be no security for the liberties of this country.” He contended, in the present instance, “that few of the contributions were purely voluntary; they arose from the dependants of ministry, custom-house officers, excisemen, &c. and mentioned the proceedings at Berwick, which he considered as illegal, and aggravated by being founded on an application from the minister, and in which all who refused to subscribe were to be held out as disloyal and disaffected. The plea urged in favor of the measure was, that parliament was to direct the application of the money. There was no law which enabled parliament so to act. Mr. Sheridan then entered into a very able account of *benevolences*, from their earliest commencement, to prove the illegality of the present proceeding, and dared the minister to produce his authorities in support of the opposite doctrine. The cases

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which had been resorted to differed extremely from the present; and from a full review of them, he inferred the measure to be hostile to the constitution, and to all the sound usages of parliament. His third proposition was, that were it constitutional and customary, it was unwise, futile, and unfit to be resorted to. The result of the present attempt would soon be seen, as there never was a moment so favorable for the experiment. The country had every motive for the display of benevolence. The expences of the present year would be at least thirty five millions, for the payment of our hereditary debts, and for the maintenance of this most *glorious* war—a war for the salvation of the British constitution, and the safety of kings—for the preservation of the christian religion—for the sake of privileges and distinctions—for the restitution and establishment of public order—for securing the safety of this and other countries—a war in which all the emotions of the soul were to be roused, and in which, if ever it could be expected to draw a great sum from the source of benevolence, the exertion of the people was to demonstrate the extent of this species of resource. For were the people only to advance their money upon the inducements held out, and subscribe each one pound for kings—one pound for their country—one for the constitution—one for religion, &c. &c. what may not be expected from a generous and opulent people so moved? Certainly, that the whole national debt must be wiped away. He would, he said, however, be so bold as to foretel, that it would be treated with merited disdain, and be as unproductive, as it was oppressive, litigious, and illegal. Nothing could at the same time be more idle than to call it voluntary. Considering the enormous influence of the crown, and the long chain of dependence, men could not act from their own motion, or resist the torrent of this prevailing power. Nor could it be an equal mode, since some from ostentation, and more from the interested view of obtaining advantages, either for themselves or dependents, would be induced to subscribe, not as they could afford, but as the aggregate  
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of pride and a mercenary spirit for a time should dictate, and which could not be often resorted to without fallacy and defeat. In every view he could take of the measure, he considered it as a manifest mimicry of the principles and practices of the jacobins, and calculated not merely to delude the people at present, and to be vexatious and oppressive, but apparently adopted for no other purpose than to take advantage of a decay of the popular spirit to establish a principle ruinous to the liberties of this country. He therefore moved—That it was dangerous and unconstitutional for the people of this country to make any loan, &c. to the crown, to be used for any public purpose, without the previous consent of parliament.”

XXVIII. The attorney general, “considered the motion as an abstract question, not relevant to the subject which was the pretext of discussion. Upon a deduction from all the historical precedents of the former speaker, he was decidedly of a contrary opinion, and vindicated the proceedings of ministers, and the legality of the measure, upon the ground of repeated precedents, and the sanction of the most indisputable authorities. He declared that, from every view he could take of the subject, the subscriptions were strictly legal, but thought it unwise to come to any resolution on the subject. He considered lord Shelburne’s letter in 1782, to the lords lieutenants, &c. as precisely a case in point with the present, and wished to know why gentlemen on the other side had, on a previous occasion, suffered several of the nobility to raise companies at their own expence? why the East India Company had, in the American war, been allowed to subscribe three ships? He concluded by moving the previous question.”

XXIX. Mr. Fox defended himself from the charge of inconsistency. He declared “that the letter of lord Shelburne contained no solicitation nor even a hint for subscription—no money had been asked—none received—and, had such an idea been started, it would have been indignantly reprobated. Every authority now adduced

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by the minister had been, he said, ably argued by a late noble lord (Guildford) but he was still unconvinced of the legality of voluntary subscriptions; and on this opinion he had opposed the ships &c. formerly offered to government. He very ably examined all the quoted authorities, and, from a review of the whole, inferred the illegality of the present proceedings. He considered it, coming from a king to his people, as a command, not a request, incompatible with the dignity of a king, and with the situation of a subject. Mr. Fox asserted the readiness of the members of opposition to defend their country in any case of actual danger, but the measure under consideration, he thought, calculated to awaken those animosities which were said to prevail from a dangerous democratic spirit predominant in the country. It had not only a tendency to discover what the political sentiments of men really were; but, if a man refused to subscribe, he would be marked as disaffected to the constitution. The inutility of the measure was such, that not more than three hundred thousand pounds could be raised by it, and for this was it worth while to excite a spirit of party? Parliament had already shewn the utmost readiness in voting supplies to the amount of thirty or forty millions a year. Why then harass individuals with such an application?"

XXX. Mr. Windham declared the proposition before the house, "to be one of those which could neither be *universally affirmed*, nor *universally denied*. The honorable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had taken an extreme case, and supposed that because it would be fatal to supply the crown in such a manner as would place it above the control of parliament, all grants to the crown were equally bad. This strict and universal argument, however well adapted for *legal* questions, was, he thought, ill adapted for *politics*. No man in his senses could express a fear that what was doing at present had any tendency to revive those compulsory benevolences and forced loans which had so long been reprobated, destroyed, and almost forgotten. As to there being no

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mention of subscription in the letter of 1782 to the counties, so much the worse. If there was not the word, there was the thing; for how were men to be armed without expence? It is clearly implied expence, that in a mercantile transaction, where the expence incurred was to be repaid, he believed it would have been held binding. When a bill passed for raising so many troops, it necessarily implied that a competent sum should be provided to maintain them. With respect to the charges of political inconsistency brought against him, he declared, he would not sacrifice truth to consistency—he would always act according to his last consideration of things, and was not *desirous of being consistent* by persevering in error. He had certainly opposed subscriptions in the American war, because he thought the war unjust. The arguments of the illegality, such as they were now used, were then pressed upon the public; and perhaps he might have taken them up, as he was *right* in making every objection *good or bad* to a measure he disapproved. He censured the conduct of gentlemen in opposition, as exposing the constitution to danger, while they affected to support it; and ridiculed the favorers of their party, as persons filled with wild and frantic ideas of democracy. He ended, by insinuating that the conduct of the opposition leaders in the house was similar to that of those who had sat in it in 1745, who were secret friends to the pretender, and who could see no danger because they were interested in his success."

XXXI. Mr. Sheridan, in reply, "reminded the honorable gentleman (Mr. Windham) how very lately he had acted in apparent *union* and *perfect confidence* with the men he now so seriously impugned. If, however, *he knew and believed* that such persons as he had represented really existed amongst the members of opposition, he called upon him to come boldly forward, and *name them*. When the honorable gentleman sneered at the company in which opposition acted, he should have reflected upon the sort of company into which he had now got. He could not forget the triumph he used to feel in

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exposing the unconstitutional principles upon which the minister came into office—in uncasing his artifices—his subterfuges—and high prerogative principles. In representing him as an object of distrust and jealousy, and holding him up to the contempt and derision of his country, by stripping him of his assumed robe of purity, and shewing that all beneath was *filthy dowlas*. In that filthy dowlas he had suddenly discovered something extremely splendid and engaging; for although the honorable gentleman had *changed*, the minister had *not*. Mr. Sheridan proceeded to argue, in strong terms, against the apostacy of Mr. Windham: he asserted, that at the period when the latter opposed the subscriptions, he had the strongest conviction of their illegality, and that their illegality and unconstitutional tendency formed the basis of those arguments which he *used to the meeting he attended at Norwich*. Whatever had been his opinion or wishes respecting the war, how shameful must his conduct appear in such an unprincipled attempt, as that of misleading a popular meeting by false law as well as false logic. In politics, as well as science, the grand principles were, he said, clear and absolute; it was only the subordinate parts that were left to discretion. Did gentlemen suppose that a general principle was overturned by a set of petty deviations? Such deviations ought to be the more carefully guarded against, as they were too apt to be drawn into precedents. He allowed that an occasional deviation from some maxims might be attended with no serious consequences; but that there were some fundamental principles, an infraction of which sometimes destroyed, and always debased their value. Of this description was any pecuniary aid given to the crown through any other medium than that of parliament; for, whatever might be its avowed purpose, it was liable to be employed in corrupting the house, and overturning the liberties of the people.—Ministers, he said, could have no other view in exciting this subscription, in a clandestine way, but to assert this high prerogative in the crown. The attorney general,

not daring to meet the question with a direct negative, which he knew would not accord with the sense of the country in general, had taken refuge in moving the previous question. The law authorities, whom he had quoted as favorers of the doctrine in debate, did not actually hold the opinions imputed to them. The admission of this new doctrine, connected with the doctrines avowed upon the landing of the Hessian troops, would render a new BILL OF RIGHTS necessary. He concluded by declaring, however, that so far was he from wishing to impede any plan for the defence of the country, that if great expectations were formed from these subscriptions, he would agree to make them legal for the particular occasion." On a division, there appeared a majority of 170 in favor of the previous question.

XXXII. A similar attempt was made in the house of peers by lord Lauderdale, and equally unsuccessful.—His lordship made the following motion: "That it is a dangerous and unconstitutional measure for the people of this country, to grant to the executive government any private aid, benevolence, or subscription for public purposes, without the consent of parliament." The motion was violently opposed by the lords Hawkesbury, Grenville, and Caernarvon; and supported by the lords Derby and Stanhope: it was however here, as in the commons, got rid of by the previous question.

XXXIII. An important discussion respecting the treaties entered into by his majesty with foreign powers was introduced into the house of commons on the sixth of March by Mr. Whitbread, jun. who prefaced a motion upon the subject by a very masterly speech. "He would," he said, "on this occasion, avoid inquiring into the grounds of the present war, and the topics which were so artfully held out to inflame the public mind, and incite them to animosity against the French; but would barely remind the house, that the same virulent invectives had on former occasions been bestowed on some of the best and greatest men who had ever engaged in  
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the glorious struggle for liberty. He instanced the proclamation of Philip the second against the prince of Orange, and the opprobrious epithets thrown upon the Americans during the American war. When these epithets were employed indiscriminately against the French, he must think them grossly calumniated; and for what? To prove, what no rational set of beings ever doubted, the existence of a God. Mr. Whitbread contended, however, that religion was made a cloak of by those who hated every thing like liberty, and that such had the words *christian religion* continually in their mouths, though their actions violated its fundamental principles. Whatever had been the ground of war on our part, it could not, Mr. Whitbread said, be urged on the part of Austria or Prussia, that the war was an aggression on the part of France. The treaty of Pilnitz was a proof of this; yet we had confederated with the framers of that treaty, and bound ourselves to go what length they pleased. The motives of Austria and Prussia were inordinate ambition, cruelty, and rapacity. He noticed the sanguinary principles maintained by these German despots; the horrid manifesto of the duke of Brunswick, and the infamous division of Poland; and though we affected to lament the division of Poland, and various other instances of inordinate ambition in these courts, we had yet entered into an alliance with those very powers. We had, he said, another ally of equal honor, the empress of Russia, whose only view was to keep the south of Europe in confusion. He asked whether any of the combined powers had defined their object in the war, or whether they had not uniformly contradicted each other? He placed in a strong point of view the contradictory motives upon which they must act. If we would not treat with France as a republic, when were we likely to treat? If, on the contrary, we were willing to treat with them as a republic, provided the present system and rulers were destroyed, did we conceive that Austria and Prussia, who had made a common cause of crushing the government of France in 1789, would agree to that form of govern-

ment? Yet, how could we oppose such a form? For we had already declared our partiality for it, as was evident from the declaration of Toulon. Austria however, it was evident, would not assent to the constitution of 1789, as was plain from the manifestoes of general Wurmser and the prince of Saxe Cobourg. Mr. Whitbread declared there was no reliance to be placed on any of these royal dealers in human flesh; and it was his opinion, that if the views of this detestable combination had succeeded in the first campaign against the French, the liberties of Europe would have been destroyed. With such powers were we leagued in a cause which was said to be for justice, humanity, law, order, and the christian religion; whereas it was in fact against them all. The treaty with the king of Sardinia bound us not to lay down our arms before the restitution of Savoy; yet the irruption into Savoy was made long before we engaged in the war. The Sardinian ambassador applied to the Genoese for assistance on that occasion; but the British envoy desired the Genoese to observe a strict neutrality. So far from the war being carried on for the preservation of society, we had in many instances acted in such a way as tended to break the bonds of society asunder. With the combination of such a number of formidable powers, each one individually was in a worse relative state with regard to France than at the commencement of the war. We were called upon to make a more extraordinary provision for our internal safety, and Austria and Prussia were still more exhausted. What did this prove, but that a war with an *armed nation* no combination upon earth could render successful? Mr. Whitbread argued, that had success attended the arms of the combined powers against France, we should by this time have had a quarrel with them. From their principles of despotism they would, after they had imposed a tyranny on the French, have been disposed to make an attack upon our constitution. Had we interfered properly in the affairs of France, the lives of the king and queen might, he believed, have been spared, and



and Europe have been now at peace. In the danger arising from the combination in which we were engaged, he wished the house to solicit his majesty to extricate himself as soon as possible. There were, he said, precedents for the measure; few of the allied powers could have any cause to complain, and least of all the empress of Russia, who had not fulfilled any of her engagements. The hackneyed question, with whom were we to treat? he answered by saying, with those who had the power to negotiate. He concluded by moving for an address to his majesty, expressive of the concern of that house, that he should have entered into engagements incompatible with the declarations repeatedly made relative to the object of the war—lamenting that he should have been advised to make a common cause with powers whose objects are undefined, but who, there is much ground to fear, prosecute the war for the purpose of dictating in the internal affairs of other countries—views which had been solemnly disavowed by his majesty and his ministers, and abhorrent to the principles of a free nation—that were it a war of aggression on the part of France, the assistance of the king of Prussia was by treaty previously ensured to this country—that it does not appear the succours stipulated by the defensive treaty of 1788 had been called for, but that a convention had been entered into, involving us in schemes foreign to our true interest, and imposing a restraint upon his majesty in relieving his subjects from a burdensome and calamitous war—that the restoration of Savoy was not of sufficient importance to be made the condition of peace—that these engagements might prove fatal to the liberties of Europe—and requesting his majesty to extricate himself from them, as they prevented his concluding a separate peace.”

XXXIV. Mr. Jenkinson defended the conduct of the combined powers respecting the treaty of Pilnitz, “which,” he said, “had no views of ambition whatever. Its object was to free the late unfortunate king; but when he had accepted the constitution of 1789, and notified his acceptance of it, the court of Vienna shewed

every disposition to retreat from the stipulations at Pilnitz. The case of Prussia was precisely the same. He said, that whenever a country was involved in war, it was necessary to form as many alliances as possible. The two principal articles contained in the treaties, were an agreement to make our cause the same with that of the court of Berlin, and not to lay down our arms till France had restored to the allies all she had wrested or might wrest from them. The first presented the most efficacious means of prosecuting the contest, and securing to us indemnity and safety; the second was, from various considerations, highly beneficial to this country. The expenditure of two hundred thousand pounds a year was a wise and politic measure on our part respecting Savoy. Were the French to offer the king of Sardinia still more advantageous terms, it would be our interest to increase the sum, in order that the arms of the French might have a diversion on that side of France. It had always been thought politic to prevent France from extending her territory, and it was certainly doubly so at present. As to the partition of Poland, he did not see that the justice or necessity of the war was affected by that transaction."

XXXV. Mr. Fox asserted, "that it was impossible by any sophistry to deny that Austria and Prussia fomented this contest by the treaty of Pilnitz; and every principle of religion and morality called upon us to balance the advantages we might reap from this alliance, with the shame and disgrace attendant upon any engagement with those with whom we had connected ourselves. According to the treaties subsisting between this country and Prussia, we were only to assist her in a defensive war. This had been eluded by a subsequent treaty between the king of Prussia and the emperor, in which they engaged in the provocation of France, and then our assistance was claimed for Prussia against the enemy she had raised. Where, he asked, was the instance in the French convention or the jacobin club that could match the perfidy of the king of Prussia towards Poland? He not only encouraged the Poles in modelling their constitution, but

publicly congratulated them on having made their monarchy hereditary in the family of his relation the elector of Saxony; and in twelve months after, he audaciously abandoned every principle he had sworn to maintain, opposed the claim of Saxony, declared that the revolution in Poland had given a just cause of offence to the empress, and secretly and perfidiously co-operated with Russia for a share in the plunder of Poland. From the different language held in speaking of the French and of the allies, Mr. Fox inferred, that to the vices of those who lived in courts, and filled, or rather dishonoured thrones, we were to be totally blind, while the wickedness of the anarchists was to provoke us to hostility. He spoke in pointed terms of the atrocity of the king of Prussia respecting the treatment and imprisonment of La Fayette. We had publicly approved of the constitution of 1789, yet suffered one of its illustrious founders to languish in a dungeon, without a crime imputed to him. At the very time we were acting on the principles of the constituent assembly, the Austrians in Alsace pursued a totally different system. This proved that the views of the emperor were different from our's. He noticed also the contradiction between the two manifestoes of the prince of Cobourg; the first issued when the defection of Dumourier was believed to include that of the army, and declaring him a wise and virtuous citizen, resolved to give peace to his country, and to assist with his army in restoring, not the old monarchy, but the constitution of 1789. This proclamation was not however issued because the prince meant to adhere to it. As soon as Dumourier's defection was found to be only that of a general and a few of his followers, all his virtue and wisdom vanished with his power; and within four or five days the prince of Cobourg, with audacity and effrontery unparalleled in history, issued a second proclamation, retracting every word of the first. What sincerity was there in the professions of the emperor? Mr. Fox next noticed the treatment received by general Dumourier in this country; indeed he had wandered from country to country, in a condition not

to be envied by any general of the republic who was not under the immediate fear of execution. What lesson did this hold out to Frenchmen? That it was better to run the hazard of the guillotine in France, than to take the certainty of misery and contempt among the allies. Had the king of Prussia, he asked, promised to restore to France the constitution of 1789? Or, if he had, was it in stronger terms than he had used in approving the efforts for freedom made by the Poles? Had the empress of Russia made similar professions? or were we to look for her observance of them in her exemplary conduct towards the Poles? Was it in the mad and foolish manifestoes of the duke of Brunswick that we were to find the good faith of Austria, and the conformity of her views with ours? We talked of indemnity, yet called upon Frenchmen to join us in expelling their present rulers. We might ourselves possibly procure an indemnity by the surrender of some of the French West India islands; but what indemnity would suffice for our numerous allies? Except ourselves and Holland, no state had joined the confederacy but those under the dominion of absolute monarchs; and Holland would rejoice in an opportunity of getting out of it with safety. As the French must see that nothing short of the partition of their country would satisfy the contending powers, they had every motive for continuing the war; since, were the result ever so wanting in success, they could lose nothing by the contest. Perhaps, too, if the improbable event of the conquest of France should be attained, the whole kingdom might not be sufficient to indemnify all the powers at war; and we must then have to fight for a division of spoil, without that delusive calm, which was said to be all we could obtain by a peace with France. Mr. Fox noticed the mutual animosities and jealousies entertained by the allied powers, in proof, that if an indemnification was obtained, there would be no further effects than a temporary repose. He had, he said, been informed that the king of Prussia had declared his inability to carry on the war without a subsidy of seven hundred thousand pounds.

If such was the fact, he considered it as a fortunate circumstance, as it opened a door for extricating ourselves, and accomplishing not a *separate* but a *general* peace. At the commencement of the last campaign, we had been told the enemy were reduced to one desperate effort. For that effort he would use an old fashioned word, called *perseverance*. If by this effort they could so far recover themselves as to instil intimidation, how could the next campaign, however brilliant in its commencement, be finally ensured to prove propitious? With respect to Savoy, he would state what had been formerly agitated upon the passive negligence of this country at the time hostilities commenced between the French and the Sardinians. War was declared with Sardinia on the sixteenth of September, yet the parliament was prorogued from time to time. The battle of Jemappe happened between the order of the council and the affixing the great seal to the prorogation, so that it was before it was announced in the gazette." Mr. Fox recapitulated what he and his friends had done in the last session to prevent the war, and noticed the accomplishment of the events they had predicted. He then exhorted the house, with much feeling, to attend to the burdened and oppressed state of the poor of this country.

XXXVI. Mr. Pitt urged arguments to prove the justice and expediency of the war, and the impossibility of our making peace. "Fortunately," he said, "we were so happy as to find other powers whose interests led them to make a common cause with us against the common invader of the rights of all mankind. The motion only tended to disunite and separate these allies from the general defence. Till gentlemen could say, that, situated as England was at the commencement of the war, those alliances were impolitic, they could not expect the house to agree to a measure which involved the principles, the security, and the independence of the British constitution, as well as the general tranquillity of Europe. That part of the conduct of our allies which seemed to provoke the most censure, had nothing to do with the present



sent war, and we ought to draw every possible assistance from them in the present emergency. Though gentlemen had argued so strenuously for peace, they had not stated how it was to be obtained. They had said, only dissolve the confederacy, and every obstacle to peace will vanish. This was consistent with all their opinions, and the real meaning of the present motion, which was in fact a motion for an immediate peace at any rate. To promote this, much was urged of the miseries felt by the country. No war could be prosecuted without injury to commerce; but in such a war as the present, gentlemen ought not to think any thing of a trifling deprivation of commerce; it must be much more endangered if the power of France was not opposed. He was ready to confess, in reply to what had been urged, that, considered in a commercial view, the prosperity of the country last year had not been equal to that of former years; but this pressure arose from the continental war, which would have existed whether we had engaged in it or not. But this check was, he contended, merely temporary, and the nation had recovered from it; and the readiness with which it had recovered, afforded joyful hopes of ultimate success in the war. The French, Mr. Pitt stated, in all their military proceedings, did every thing by coercion and terror, and exhibited no resource but extortion keeping peace with prodigality. Comparing their costs and resources with those of the allies, any one must be led to think that France would much sooner sink under the pressure of the war. He participated, he said, in the general concern for Poland, but denied that the emperor or the allies had any intention to impose or revive the ancient despotism in France. As for the argument of dividing France, it made against all wars in which confederates were engaged. Nor did he see how it followed, that because the confederates were not attached to each other, we, who had cemented the union, should be the first to dissolve it. He again vindicated the war, and said, that instead of its being an object of censure, it ought rather to be considered as  
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matter of congratulation, that we had been able to unite in our cause so many powerful states. He must therefore reprobate a motion, which had no other tendency but to shake a necessary, beneficial, and honourable union." On a division of the house, 28 appeared in favour of the motion, against it 138.

XXXVII. The melancholy situation of M. de la Fayette, which had long excited the commiseration of every friend to humanity, freedom, and virtue, was on the seventeenth of March, introduced to the notice of the house of commons by general Fitzpatrick. The general, after a prefatory speech, moved "That an address be presented to his majesty, to represent to him that it appeared to the house, that the detention of general La Fayette, Alexander Lameth, Bureau de Pully, and La Tour Maubourg in prison, by order of his majesty's ally the king of Prussia, was injurious to his majesty and the cause of his allies, and humbly to beseech his majesty most graciously to intercede in such a manner, as to his royal wisdom shall seem most proper for the deliverance of these unhappy persons." The general declared, that whatever confidence he might have in the feelings and humanity of the house on this occasion, yet that his hopes of success rested chiefly on the policy and justice of the measure. As the minister, he said, had on a former occasion disclaimed, on the part of the British government, any share in this iniquitous transaction, he expected that at least from consistency he would support the present motion. The minister, however, flew off. Mr. Burke thundered out a frantic philippic against La Fayette and the French revolution, and the house negatived the motion by a majority of 153, against 48.

XXXVIII. The minister, not contented with the vast alliances he had already formed, was still willing to strengthen the combination by employing every needy and desperate adventurer in the crusade against France. With this view, he brought forward a bill to enable his majesty to employ subjects of France on the continent of Europe, in the French West India islands, in Guernsey, Jersey,

Jersey, and other places. This measure was opposed by several gentlemen of the minority, upon the grounds of its being inhuman, dangerous, and unconstitutional—because their numbers were to be unlimited—because they were to be allowed to land in the island of Great Britain as a place of rendezvous for health, exercise, &c.—and because, in the case of defeat or capture, it exposed the unhappy objects themselves to certain and cruel death. Mr. Sheridan opposed the bill with great energy. “Suppose,” said he, “an army of fifty thousand armed Frenchmen on the coast of Essex, what power will there be in parliament to stop any progress they may be tempted, seduced, or ordered to make? He pathetically exhibited the inhuman and wretched situation to which by the bill we reduced these unfortunate victims. We had boasted that their desperate situation would make them fight the better, by knowing that, if taken, they would be put to death.—The inhumanity of this idea was shocking. And dare we retaliate? (YES—YES, cried the vindictive Burke,) good heaven! replied Mr. Sheridan, the lives of millions may depend upon that single word. This will introduce a system of human sacrifice all over Europe. He shuddered at the thought of sending these poor unfortunate beings into the field with halters round their necks as part of their military accoutrements. If such however were to be their desperate case, he promised hereafter to move some resolutions, that these men should be entitled to half-pay, and to the distinction of human beings, instead of being sent into the field, where if defeated, they would be immediately hung up like dogs.” The bill was strongly contested in all its stages, but passed at last by a great majority.

XXXIX. The next business which engaged the attention of parliament, was a motion respecting sinecure places and pensions, introduced by Mr. Harrison on the eighth of April. In Mr. Harrison’s speech on this occasion, he said, “he did not desire to deprive gentlemen of the rewards due to their present or former services, but he thought that those who had neither of these claims  
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